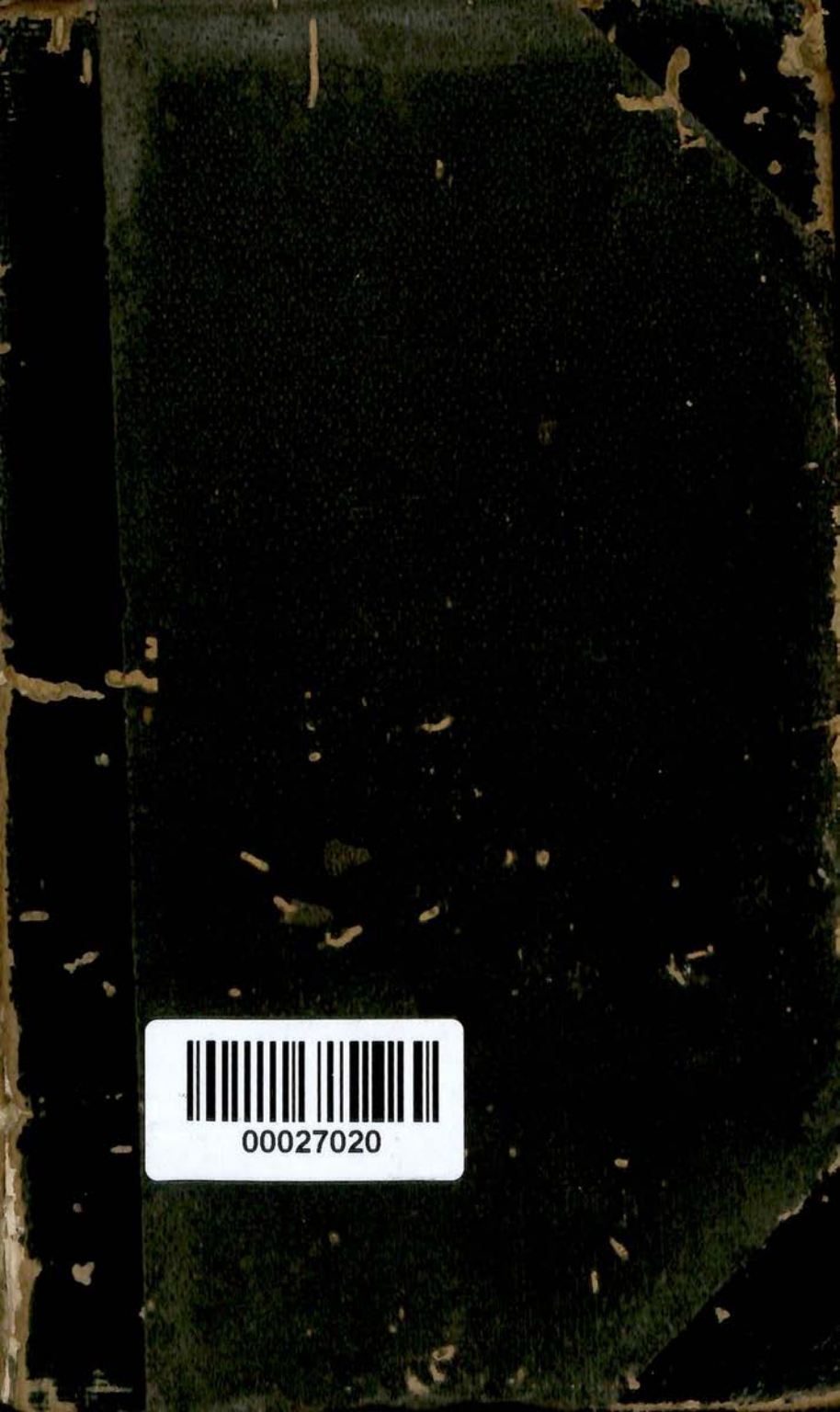
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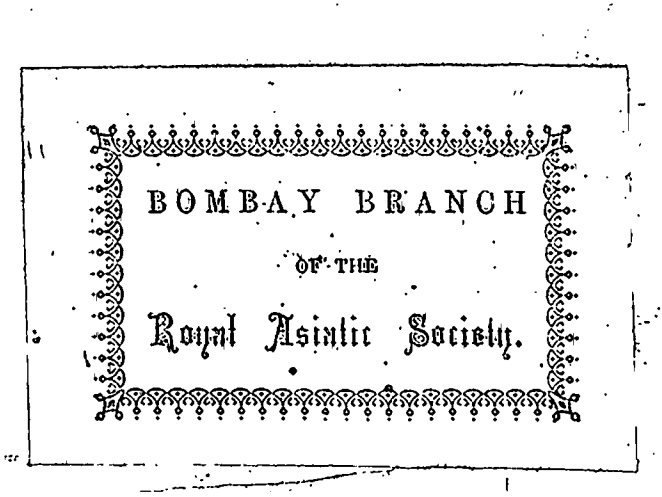

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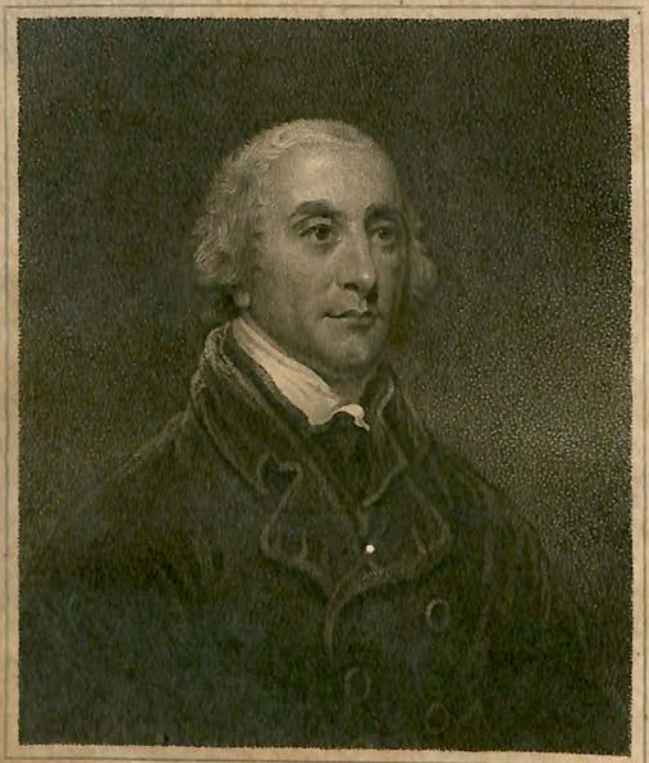

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The Right. Hon.ble William Wyndham M.P.

Published by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row. April 1.1802.

22° 6

SPEECHES

IN PARLIAMENT,

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WINDHAM;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

BY THOMAS AMYOT, ESQ.

"—— *ut civem, ut senatorem—ut virum denique cùm prudentiâ, et diligentiâ, tum omni virtute excellentem, probo; orationes autem ejus valdè laudo.*" CICERO.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

27020

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

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TO

EARL FITZWILLIAM.

My Lord,

In availing myself of your Lordship's most obliging permission to inscribe to you the following Work, I am performing an act the propriety of which will not fail to be concurred in by all Mr. Windham's friends. The grounds of that concurrence need not be sought for in your exalted rank or more distinguished character; — they are to be found in the uninterrupted private friendship and political agreement which subsisted between your Lordship and the illustrious person of whom these memorials are collected — in the striking proofs which occurred of your kindness and regard for him

— and in the watchful and affectionate solicitude which your Lordship shewed, and which I, among many others, had the melancholy gratification of witnessing, during that illness which deprived his King and Country of a faithful servant and most zealous champion.

Two years have this day elapsed since the extinction of those talents and virtues, those graces of mind and of heart, which I am persuaded are still fresh and vivid in your Lordship's recollection. That this humble attempt to convey to others that impression of which your Lordship can require no renewal, may be honoured with your indulgent approbation, is the anxious wish of,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
most respectful,
and obedient Servant,
THOMAS AMYOT.

Downing-Street,
June 4, 1812.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may be proper to apprize the Reader, that three of the speeches in the ensuing collection, viz. those on the Peace of Amiens*, Mr. Curwen's Reform Bill†, and the Bill for preventing Cruelty to Animals‡, were corrected by Mr. Windham, and published separately in the form of Pamphlets under his inspection. The five speeches also, on the subject of the Defence of the Country, which immediately follow the speech on the Peace of Amiens§, were revised by Mr. Windham, and published together at Norwich in 1804. Of the other speeches, those which originally appeared in Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, from the commencement of that useful compilation in 1803 till within a few months of Mr. Windham's death, were chiefly seen and corrected by him previous to their publication. But with respect to the speeches prior to 1803, it is much to be lamented, that, owing to causes which are pointed out in the ensuing biographical preface, the reports of them which have been preserved are very imperfect and unsatisfactory; — so much so,

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* Vol. II. p. 1. † Vol. III. p. 236. ‡ Vol. III. p. 303.
§ Vol. II. p. 87 to 182 inclusive.

that the Reader is requested to consider them as having been inserted in this work merely for the sake of recording Mr. Windham's opinions during a long and important period of his life, and not by any means as exhibiting fair specimens of his eloquence.

The biographical sketch, being intended merely to serve as an introduction to the speeches, is chiefly confined to the events of Mr. Windham's political life. The writer indeed is ready to confess that his views were narrowed rather by necessity than by choice. As his theme was grateful to him, he would have been glad to forget that he was writing, not a book, but a preface; and that in such an undertaking, all he could reasonably hope for was, to excite curiosity, not to gratify it. That it is intended to be gratified hereafter, from the pen of Mr. GEORGE ELLIS, the Reader will undoubtedly learn with pleasure. In the meantime, the sketch now presented, if it be found faithful in the outline, may perhaps not be unwelcome to the common observer, though the connoisseur, who demands the scale, the colouring, and the finish of a complete portrait, must be content to wait a little longer for the fulfillment of his wishes.

The Writer has only to add his best thanks to those friends and relations of Mr. Windham who have most obligingly favoured him with communications, and whose names will appear in the course of the following pages.

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ERRATA.

Page 2. last line but one, for *become* read *became.*
45. line 4. from the bottom, after *accomplished,* add *that of.*
84. 8. after *imitation of,* add *this.*
86. 5. for *Rowney,* read *Romney.*
87. 13. for *betowed* read *bestowed.*
88. 9. of note, for *unwillingly* read *unwilling.*

SOME

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WINDHAM.

WILLIAM WINDHAM, the lamented subject of this narrative, was the descendant of a line of ancestors which is traced to a very remote period. The name is derived from a town in Norfolk, generally written *Wymondham*, but pronounced *Windham*, at which place the family appears to have been settled as early as the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth century, Ailward de Wymondham having been a person of some consideration in the time of Henry the First. His posterity remained there till the middle of the fifteenth century, when one of them, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, purchased considerable estates on the north-east coast of Norfolk, in Felbrigg and its neighbourhood, which, from that time, became their principal residence. Among the Windhams of Felbrigg, many might be enumerated who

distinguished themselves by services to their country in the army, the navy, and on the judicial bench; and from them descended not only the present noble family of Egremont, but others of considerable eminence, long since settled in distant parts of the kingdom, by whom the name of Windham has been preserved, though generally with a slight deviation from that orthography.

Colonel William Windham, an inheritor of the Felbrigg patrimony, and the son of Ash Windham, who had represented the county of Norfolk in Parliament, was a man of versatile talents and an ardent mind. He was the associate of the wits of his time, the friend and admirer of Garrick, and the distinguished patron of all manly exercises. In his father's lifetime, he had lived much on the continent, particularly in Spain. Of his proficiency in the language of that country, he gave proofs in some printed observations on Smollett's Translation of Don Quixote. While abroad, he entered as a Hussar officer into the service of the deserted, though finally successful, Maria Teresa, Queen of Hungary. This commission, at his father's desire, he at length very unwillingly relinquished; but his military ardour was revived many years afterwards, on the passing of the Act which established the Militia Force upon its present footing. Upon that occasion, which happened in the year 1757, he assisted his friend, the first Marquis Townshend, in forming a battalion of Militia in his native county, of which he afterwards become Lieutenant-Colonel. Though his military education had not been regular,

he not only proved an active and skilful officer, but distinguished himself as the author of a "Plan of Discipline composed for the use of the Militia of the county of Norfolk," which was much esteemed, and generally adopted by other corps of the establishment*. Unhappily Colonel Windham's feeble con-

* This work, which was published in 1760, is comprized in a quarto volume, and contains many plates, serving to illustrate the plan of exercise which Colonel Windham recommended. The dedication, "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftsbury, and the other noble Lords who have exerted themselves in their respective counties as Lord-Lieutenants in the execution of the Militia Acts," is subscribed by Lord Townshend, who notices Colonel Windham in terms of warm commendation. An advertisement, signed "W. Windham," is dated the 24th August 1759, at Hilsea Barracks, to which place the battalion had proceeded upon the threat of an invasion; having the distinguished honour of being the first Militia corps that had marched out of its own county.

That Colonel Windham's military instructions to his brother-officers were not always observed according to his wishes, may be shewn by a ludicrous anecdote, which the writer of this narrative received from an old officer of the battalion, lately dead. The corps, on its march, having to pass in parade order before the King at Kensington, the Colonel took particular pains to perfect his officers in the manner of the salute. To his great mortification, however, he observed that one of his captains (an honest country-gentleman) marched with infinite composure past His Majesty, without bestowing on him the slightest notice. Upon being called to account for this negligence, the officer denied the truth of the charge. "Do you think, Colonel Windham," said he, "I did not know the King as well as you did? How could I miss him? Had not he the G. R. on his breast?" The worthy Captain had actually saluted a Beefeater!

stitution by no means seconded the ardour and activity of his mind. A victim to a consumptive habit, he died on the 30th of October 1761, when only in the 44th year of his age,

He had married Mrs. Lukin, the mother of the present Dean of Wells, by whom he had but one son, WILLIAM WINDHAM, who was born in 1750, on the 3d of May (old style), in Golden Square. At seven years of age, young Windham had been placed at Eton, where he remained till he was about sixteen; distinguishing himself by the vivacity and brilliancy of his talents, among school-fellows of whom many were afterwards highly eminent for their genius and acquirements. He was the envy of the school for the quickness of his progress in study, as well as its acknowledged leader and champion in all athletic sports and youthful frolicks. The late Dr. Barnard, then Head-master, and afterwards Provost of Eton College, used to remark when Fox and Windham had become conspicuous in the senate, that they were the last boys he had ever flogged. Their offence was, that of stealing off together to see a play acted at Windsor. The Sub-master, Dr. Dampier, afterwards Dean of Durham (the father of the present Bishop of Ely), was Mr. Windham's guardian, in conjunction with David Garrick, Mr. Price of Hereford, and the celebrated Benjamin Stillingfleet, who is noticed by Colonel Windham, in the introduction to his "Plan of Discipline," as having contributed some learned information respecting the antiquity of the use of music in war.

On leaving Eton, in 1766, he was placed in the university of Glasgow, under the tuition of Dr. Anderson, Professor of Natural History, and the learned Dr. Robert Simson, the editor of Euclid. Here he remained about a year, having by diligent application to study laid the foundation of his profound mathematical acquirements. He was then removed to Oxford, where, in September 1767, he was entered a gentleman-commoner of University college, Sir Robert Chambers being his tutor. While at Oxford, he took so little interest in public affairs, that, as the writer of this narrative has heard him relate, it was the standing joke of one of his contemporaries, that "Windham would never know who was prime minister." This disinclination to a political life, added to a modest diffidence in his own talents, led him at the period which is now spoken of, to reject an offer which, by a youth not more than twenty years of age, might have been considered as a splendid one;—that of being named secretary to his father's friend, Lord Townshend, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

After four years residence, he left Oxford in 1771. He always retained feelings of gratitude towards *Alma Mater*, and preserved to the last an intimate acquaintance and correspondence with some of the most distinguished resident members. He did not, however, take his master's degree till 1783. That of doctor of laws was conferred on him in 1793, at the installation of the Duke of Portland. It is related that on this occasion, almost the whole assembly rose from

their seats, when he entered the theatre, and received him with acclamations of applause *. Nor was his memory forgotten at the late installation of Lord Grenville; for in the recitations made on that occasion, due honours were paid to the genius, taste, and acquirements of which the public had recently been deprived.

After leaving Oxford, he passed some time on the continent. In 1773, a voyage of discovery towards the North-Pole having been projected and placed under the command of the late Lord Mulgrave (then Commodore Phipps), Mr. Windham, with his characteristic ardour, joined as a passenger in the expedition. To his great mortification, however, a continued sea-sickness of an unusually severe and debilitating kind, rendered it necessary for him to be landed on the coast of Norway. Here, accompanied by a faithful servant now living, who had attended him from his childhood, he passed through a series of adventures and "hair-breadth 'scapes," in which his courage and humanity were conspicuous. The recital of them might agreeably occupy a considerable space in a work less limited in its nature and extent than the present.

* It will here be proper to observe, that for many of the dates and facts noticed in this early part of the narrative, the author is indebted to a brief biographical memoir, which, soon after Mr. Windham's death, his highly-valued friend Mr. Malone presented to those persons who were most intimately connected with the lamented subject of it. The manner in which Mr. Malone executed his task leaves nothing to regret, except that he did not impose on himself a more comprehensive one. Had he done this, the attempts of others would have been worse than superfluous.

His earliest essay as a public speaker was occasioned by a call which was made on the country, for a subscription in aid of Government, to be applied towards carrying on the war with our American colonies. It was on the 28th of January 1778, at a meeting of gentlemen of the county of Norfolk, held at Norwich, that Mr. Windham gave the first promise of that eminence which he afterwards attained as an orator and statesman. Of his speech upon this occasion, a report has fortunately been preserved, and though it must not be compared with later specimens of his eloquence, it may be admitted to exhibit some proofs of acuteness, dexterity, and vigour. As the earliest effort of a distinguished orator, it is at least a curiosity; and on that account the report of the proceedings of the meeting will have a place allotted to it in this work *. It is copied from a provincial paper of the times, (The Norfolk Chronicle,) and considering that the talent of reporting debates was not then a common one, and was certainly little practised in the country, it will be thought perhaps not altogether ill-executed; though there can be no doubt that Mr. Windham's eloquence, which was long remembered in the county, suffered not a little in its way to the press. It will be sufficient in this place to notice, that the part which he took was in opposition to the subscriptions, and to the war itself; and that his friend and his father's friend, the first Marquis Townshend, who had himself proposed the measure of the subscription, bore in his

* See the Appendix to this narrative (A).

reply, the warmest testimony to the abilities, knowledge, eloquence, and integrity, of his young antagonist. The result of the meeting was, that those who remained unconvinced by Mr. Windham's arguments, entered into the proposed subscription; while those who had opposed the measure withdrew to another Inn, where they framed a strong protest against its principle and object.

Some time before the event which has been last noticed, he had entered himself as an officer in the western battalion of Norfolk militia. In this character, he proved that he inherited the military turn and talents of his father, to whom the very corps in which he served had been so greatly indebted for its formation and discipline. When the militia were called out in 1778, Mr. Windham held the rank of major, and those who remember him in that post, bear ample testimony to his zeal, expertness, and personal activity. On his battalion being ordered to march from Norwich, to be quartered in the adjoining county, he shewed an instance of resolution, which, as it made considerable impression in the country where it happened, must not be passed over in silence. The marching guinea, as it is called, was, contrary to Major Windham's advice, ordered by the Lieutenant-colonel not to be paid till the corps should have actually marched out of the county. The men, however, became clamorous for immediate payment, and proceeded to open mutiny. On their being assembled near the Castle at Norwich, Major Windham (in the absence of the Lieutenant-colonel) ordered

them to march; but instead of obeying this command, they grounded their arms, and insisted on the payment of their guineas. The order being repeated in a very resolute tone, some of them prepared to attend to it; when a man stept out of the ranks, and reproved them for their want of firmness. This man Major Windham seized with his own hand, in order to commit him a prisoner to the Guard-house, and in this attempt, assisted by some of the men belonging to his own company, he at length succeeded, though amidst a shower of stones, and in defiance of the interruption offered by the soldiers, and the populace in their train, three of whom he was compelled to silence by blows. As a rescue seemed likely to be attempted, the Major determined to remain with his prisoner all night. At four in the morning, the expected attack was begun by a party of the militia, with fixed bayonets. On their demanding the prisoner to be given up, Major Windham, standing at the door, with his sword drawn, plainly told them that while he had life to defend the Guard-house, the offender should not be allowed to escape. The soldiers, encouraged by the mob, were now proceeding to acts of violence, when the prisoner, stepping forward, requested them not to hurt his Major, who was the best of men, and declared that if they released him, he would again surrender himself into custody. This declaration contributed to appease the mutineers, who, however, were not effectually reduced to obedience, until the civil power had found it necessary to interfere; after which the battalion proceeded on its march to South-

would and Aldborough, two small towns on the Suffolk coast.

This intrepid conduct only served to increase the respect of the corps towards him, while they were desirous to forget the occasion which had called for it. By his humanity, as well as by his courage, he secured their esteem, having, as far as lay in his power, discountenanced corporal punishments, which were then more frequently inflicted in the army than at present. But his useful services as a militia officer were soon brought to a close. It happened, on a march, that imprudently, and in a sort of frolic, he joined two brother-officers in riding through a deep rivulet, after which they were obliged to keep on their wet clothes for many hours. The consequences of this adventure were fatal to one of the party, who died soon afterwards; — another, now living, is said to have saved himself by a timely application of brandy; — while Mr. Windham was thrown into a fever of a most alarming kind, from the effects of which it is certain that his constitution never thoroughly recovered. For many days he kept his bed at Bury St. Edmund's, without any hopes being entertained of his recovery. At length, he was thought to have regained strength enough to undertake a tour on the Continent, which was recommended for the re-establishment of his health. He accordingly employed nearly two years of his life in a journey through Switzerland and Italy.

From this tour he returned at a critical moment, in September 1780. The Parliament had just been

dissolved, and Sir Harbord Harbord (the late Lord Suffield), who had represented Norwich for more than twenty years, had been obliged to relinquish his hopes there, in consequence of a powerful coalition which his colleague Mr. Bacon (one of the Lords of Trade) had formed with Mr. Thurlow, a citizen of the place, and a brother of the Lord Chancellor. But the friends of Sir Harbord being determined not to give him up tamely, invited him back again, and placed him in nomination, jointly with Mr. Windham, whom they supposed to be then out of the kingdom, but whose vigorous speech against the American war had made so strong an impression on them that his absence had not weakened his popularity. It happened, singularly enough, that, without the least knowledge of what had just passed in his favour, he arrived at Norwich, in his way from London to Felbrigg, just three days before the poll commenced. It was too late, however, to secure his election; but his colleague, Sir Harbord Harbord, was returned with Mr. Bacon; while Mr. Windham, with all the disadvantages of his situation, had the satisfaction of counting a very respectable poll, as well as of securing warm assurances of support, whenever a future occasion might require it.

Though he did not obtain a seat in Parliament, he lived from this time much in town, and connected himself with some of the most eminent political and literary men of the day. Before he made his tour to the Continent, he had become a member of the celebrated Literary Club. On his return, he cemented

his friendships with the leading members of that Society, and more particularly with its two most distinguished ornaments, Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke. For the former he entertained sentiments of the highest respect and regard, which the Doctor appears to have returned with equal warmth. The high commendation with which Johnson noticed him, in a letter to Dr. Brocklesby, though it has been often repeated, ought not here to be omitted. "Mr. Windham," said he, "has been here to see me; — he came I think forty miles out of his way, and staid about a day and a half; perhaps I may make the time shorter than it was. Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature, and there Windham is *inter stellas Luna minores**." This letter was written at Dr. Taylor's house at Ashbourne. An eulogium like this, proceeding from a literary giant of seventy, certainly no professor of the art of praising, must be thought a valuable testimony to the merits of a young man, who could hardly be said to have yet rendered himself eminent on the stage of public life†.

* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iv. p. 374. 3d edition.

† At a still earlier period, Mr. Windham's character was duly appreciated by a writer of no ordinary class, in the letters first published in 1779, under the name of the younger Lord Lyttelton. After describing the most conspicuous wits of the day, and comparing their respective powers in conversation, the author says to his correspondent, "It surprises me that you should leave Windham out of your list, who (observe my prophecy) will become one of the ablest and most shining characters that the latter part of this age will produce. I hazard little in such a presentiment; his talents, judgment, and attainments will verify it."

When Johnson was on his death-bed, Mr. Windham manifested the kindest attention to him, by his frequent visits, as well as by lending him the services of Cawston (the faithful servant before alluded to), who sat up with Johnson the night before his death. The funeral was attended by Mr. Windham, whom his deceased friend had remembered in a codicil to his will, by the bequest of a book * selected from his library.

Of Mr. Burke, it is needless to say, that, during a long-tried friendship, political and personal, he found in Mr. Windham a faithful associate, and warm admirer. Their opinions seldom differed; but on a highly important occasion, hereafter to be noticed, upon which they did differ, such was Mr. Windham's deference to the wisdom and experience of his friend, that he surrendered his judgment to Mr. Burke's. From his connection with this eminent man, and with his old school-fellow Mr. Fox, he now became, though out of Parliament, a sort of member of the party then in opposition, or rather of that branch of it of which the Marquis of Rockingham was considered as the leader. In this character, he was strongly solicited to become a candidate for Westminster, whenever a vacancy should take place. The proposal was at first rather agreeable to him, but as his opinions on the then popular question of Parliamentary Reform widely differed from those of his intended constituents,

* Poetæ Græci Heroici per Henricum Stephanum. See Boswell, vol. iv. p. 431, 3d edit.

he seems to have gladly availed himself of an opportunity of declining the proffered honour. His own account of this transaction will be found in the following letter, which he addressed to a gentleman in Norwich (the late E. Norgate Esq.), who was a vigilant promoter of his interests in the latter city:

"*Queen Anne Street,*

"DEAR SIR, *5th June* 1782.

"YOU have heard, no doubt, from the papers, as well as from a letter or two of mine sent to Norwich, a general account of my transactions, with respect to becoming a candidate for Westminster. In the whole business, from the first mention of it soon after the general election, to the present occasion, I had remained nearly passive; not thinking a seat for Westminster an offer to be declined, if attainable upon easy terms, nor considering it as an object to be pursued through the medium of much difficulty or expence. This intention of leaving matters to their own operation, produced at first by the considerations above mentioned, was confirmed afterwards by another feeling, when, by the management of some particular persons, a resolution was carried at one of the general meetings for putting up Mr. Pitt, in case of a vacancy. After that, propriety required that a renewal of our correspondence should come as a formal invitation from them; and partly in that form it was about to come, that is, as a resolution of the Westminster Committee, without any sort of application from me; when, upon inquiry into the general sentiments of the

people on the question of Parliamentary Reform, by which, though my election could not have been prevented, my situation, upon the whole, would have been rendered unpleasant; and from the reflection that, on a vacancy happening in the meanwhile at Norwich, a person might be chosen who could not afterwards be set aside, I determined not to wait till a resolution of the committee might make refusal more difficult, but to forestal their deliberations, by a letter declining the honour that might be intended me. The reasons assigned in my letter were, the difference of opinion that prevailed in some of the independent interest with respect to myself, destroying that unanimity of choice, without which I should not be ambitious of a seat at Westminster; and my disagreement, signified in pretty explicit terms, with many of the opinions that seemed then to be popular. I should flatter myself, that no part of this transaction can have prejudiced my interest at Norwich, and that the conclusion ought rather to have promoted it.

I beg to be remembered to all friends; and I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient and faithful Servant,

W. WINDHAM."

At the date of the preceding letter, Mr. Windham's friends had just attained office, upon the resignation of Lord North and the cabinet which had conducted the American war. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the new administration, but his death, which took place on the 1st July 1782, and

the elevation of Lord Shelburne to the vacant post, induced Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, with the rest of the Rockingham party, to resign their situations. Mr. Windham's opinion was strongly in favour of this course, as appears by a letter, also addressed to Mr. Norgate, from which the following is an extract:

"*Queen Anne Street,*
4th July 1782.

"You feel no doubt at Norwich, as at every other place, a share of the general consternation into which all good men are thrown by the death of Lord Rockingham. There could be no time in which the loss of such a character as his, must not have been severely felt; but now it falls with a weight that *crushes*. The very existence of that interest which has maintained the cause of the country since the Revolution, is in danger of terminating in his person. The only hope and endeavour must be, in my humble opinion, to keep the troops together, by withdrawing them from action for a time, and leaving the enemy to pursue his operations, till they can have recovered their spirits, and retrieved their losses, sufficiently to make a new attack. Some of the most considerable amongst them are strongly of that opinion, and urge the immediate resignation of their places, if Lord Shelburne is to be at the head of affairs. Others are of opinion that they should still continue in, in order to complete the good they have begun, and not quit the public service till his conduct shall have driven them from it. The advocates for either opinion are actuated by per-

fectly honest motives. I am, for my own part, clearly for the sentiments of the former, and think there can be neither credit nor safety to themselves, nor consequently final advantage to the country, in their continuing in office. The danger of continuing is, that they will miss an opportunity of breaking off with credit and effect, and never find another."

By the famous coalition of Mr. Fox and his friends with Lord North and the remains of the former ministry, Lord Shelburne, after effecting a general peace, was driven from his post in April 1783. Under the new ministry, of which the Duke of Portland was the nominal head, Mr. Windham accepted the office of Chief Secretary to the Earl of Northington, then appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. An anecdote, which has been often repeated, is connected with his acceptance of this appointment. On his expressing to his friend Dr. Johnson, some doubts whether he could bring himself to practise the arts which might be thought necessary in his new situation, the Doctor humourously replied, "Don't be afraid, Sir; you will soon make a very pretty rascal *." It appears, however, that Mr. Windham's doubts were not ill founded. He yielded up his secretaryship to Mr. Pelham (now Earl of Chichester) in August 1783, about four months after his appointment; and his resignation is ascribed, in a late publication †, to a cer-

* Boswell, vol. iv. p. 208, 3d edit.

† Hardy's Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont, p. 254.

tain distribution of patronage by the Viceroy, in favour of the old court party, which had given a just offence to Lord Charlemont and his friends, who had been the best supporters of the Whigs of the mother-country before they came into office. The writer alluded to relates, that "Mr. Windham, who had served as a bond of union, on the Viceroy's first coming to Ireland, between him and Lord Charlemont, now wisely preferred the county of Norfolk to the Phœnix Park near Dublin, and retired from his situation. Lord Charlemont had long known and esteemed him as an accomplished, amiable man. This secession added much to his (Lord C.'s) chagrin, as might reasonably be expected." In a letter, dated Dublin, 26th August 1782, which at the time found its way anonymously into a newspaper, but which is believed to have been written by a gentleman who had good means of knowing the facts connected with this resignation, it is stated to have been occasioned by a want of "due requisites in Mr. Windham to become a supple and venal courtier." "Some assert," this writer adds, "that his resignation was chiefly owing to a coolness between him and a certain great personage (the Lord Lieutenant). — Mr. Windham is a man of deep science, and of great penetration and abilities; — the great personage likes a deep bottle — to penetrate a cork — and has strong abilities of bearing wine. The one was an enemy to thinking; — the other to drinking, and so they parted."

The same writer adds an anecdote which ought not to be omitted. It is given in these words: "The

following circumstance respecting Mr. Windham is an absolute fact, and shews more and more the loss this country (Ireland) has experienced by his resignation. A few days previous to his leaving Ireland, a gentleman from England waited on him with a strong letter of recommendation from Mr. Burke, requesting Mr. Windham would embrace an opportunity of presenting him with some little preferment that might fall in the gift of government. Mr. Windham assured the gentleman he should be happy to present a person so strongly recommended by Mr. Burke with a much greater piece of preferment than that requested; but that it was his fixed determination, should he remain in the secretaryship (of which he had some doubts), to give every place in his power to Irishmen; as he had long been persuaded that the natives had the best right to the bread of their own land." Whatever may have been the cause of this resignation, which has, by other accounts, been attributed to ill health, it appears that on this, and on a former occasion, when he visited his friend, Lord Townshend, during his Vice-royalty, he was long enough in Ireland to form many valuable friendships, which lasted till his death.

On the downfall of the coalition ministry, occasioned by Mr. Fox's famous bill for new modelling the government of India, a new cabinet was appointed at the close of 1783, with Mr. Pitt presiding at the Treasury. But the ex-ministers still retaining a considerable majority in the House of Commons, it was found necessary to dissolve the Parliament in March 1784. On this occasion, Mr. Windham claimed the

promises of his friends at Norwich, but soon found that Mr. Fox and his party had lost much of their popularity in that city, as well as in most other parts of the kingdom; particularly amongst the dissenters, by whom they had before been warmly supported. The question too of Parliamentary Reform, which had already stood in his way at Westminster, was become a highly popular one amongst his Norwich friends. Still he was not to be dismayed. On the contrary, his intrepidity rose with the difficulties which threatened him; for, besides avowing at a public meeting his dislike to the prevailing doctrines of Reform, he published a very manly address to the electors, in which he spurned the popularity to be acquired by a servile accommodation to changes of public opinion, and declared that he should, on all occasions, make his own dispassionate judgment the sole and fixed rule of his conduct. Dangerous as it must at first have appeared, the boldness of this address (which gave a just presage of his future political course) met with a generous reward from those who could not approve of his public connexions; and he had, on the result of the election, the satisfaction of being returned by a majority of sixty-four over his antagonist, the late Honourable Henry Hobart *. In this contest, his success was remarkable,

* So little was he disposed to court the favour of the people by any concessions, that his mode of canvassing them on this occasion was ridiculed by the opposite party in a humourous parody of some scenes of Shakspeare's Coriolanus, in which he was made to ask "the voices, the sweet voices," of the Norwich citizens, much in

for in almost every other popular election, the coalition party were totally defeated. In the county of Norfolk, Mr. Windham warmly exerted himself in the cause of his friend Mr. Coke; but that gentleman, notwithstanding the great influence he derived from his large property, and many estimable qualities, was driven from the field by the same cry which, in other places, proved fatal to Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr. Byng, and many other friends of Mr. Fox, who, by a humourous allusion to the book of that title, gained the appellation of "Fox's Martyrs."

There certainly was no part of Mr. Windham's political course that he reviewed with more satisfaction than this early stage of it. The writer of this narrative has frequently heard him, in the latter period of his life, deplore in strong terms the system which began and finally prevailed in this contest between the Crown and the Commons; — a system which he always considered as ruinous to the best interests of the country. The ministers, however, were completely triumphant; their majorities in both houses were large and decisive; and the opposition, strong as they continued to be in talents, were so reduced in numbers,

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the lofty style of the Roman General. It should be observed, however, that on other occasions he was an admirable election canvasser. The easy and manly frankness of his address was not more agreeable to the higher classes than to the common people. Without talking their language, he appeared fully to enter into their views and feelings, and would often good humouredly maintain an argument with them in their own way when he found them prepared to resist his solicitations.

as to be no longer formidable in any other way than by occasionally putting the ministers to the necessity of defending themselves by argument.

Mr. Windham made his first speech in Parliament on the 9th of February 1785, early in the second session after his election. The question which occasioned this trial of his powers, was the celebrated one of the Westminster scrutiny. It will be necessary to recollect, that Mr. Fox had been successful on the poll for that city by a majority of more than two hundred votes, but Sir Cecil Wray had demanded a scrutiny, which the High Bailiff had proceeded upon, and in the mean time, at his own discretion, had delayed making his return to the writ. Against this measure, Mr. Fox (who had been returned for another place) had in vain called for the censure of the house, in the preceding session. The scrutiny slowly proceeded, and the return was still withheld. At the commencement of the second session, the assessors who had been appointed by the High Bailiff were examined at the bar of the house concerning the delay; and it was in the support of a motion, grounded upon this examination, and calling upon the Bailiff for an immediate return, that Mr. Windham made the speech which is here alluded to. He rose immediately after Mr. Pitt had spoken on the other side, and he was followed by Mr. Fox, who congratulated the house "on the accession of the abilities which they had witnessed." The scanty report, however, which has been preserved of this speech, will certainly disappoint the reader; nor was it till late in Mr. Windham's

parliamentary career, that his peculiar style of eloquence was sufficiently understood or attended to by those who furnished the public with the substance of the debates. The motion for requiring the return was lost, and the High Bailiff received the sanction of the house for proceeding in the scrutiny, though with an intimation that it ought to be prosecuted with more expedition. It was not till some time afterwards that, upon a contrary vote of the House of Commons, the scrutiny was abandoned, and Mr. Fox returned duly elected. He subsequently, in a court of law, recovered 2000l. damages from the High Bailiff, for the loss he had sustained by the scrutiny.

In the course of the same session, Mr. Windham spoke in opposition to Mr. Pitt's Shop tax, which he pronounced to be partial, oppressive, and unjust, on the same grounds upon which he afterwards uniformly reprobated all bills that had for their object a taxation, not on the community at large, but on certain classes of men invidiously selected from it *.

In 1786, he joined in the resistance which was successfully made against the grand scheme for fortifying the Dock-yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth, brought forward by the Duke of Richmond (then Master-General of the Ordnance) and supported by the ministers.

* This speech, and some others which will be noticed in the course of the narrative, will not be found in the following collection, the reports of them which have been preserved being very imperfect and wholly unsatisfactory. The omission of the speeches themselves renders it the more necessary to allude to them in attempting the history of Mr. Windham's parliamentary career.

Fortifications in general, Mr. Windham represented as insecure and dangerous means of defence, of all others the most unfit for this country to adopt; and the plan proposed would only lavish 700,000l. of the public money for the purchase of alarm and danger. It happened that, on the division upon this question, the numbers were equal, and the measure of the ministers was rejected by the casting vote of the speaker. It should here be observed, that the objection which Mr. Windham urged against fortifications in general, considered with a view to our insular situation, could not be applied to that description of them which he afterwards strongly recommended for the defence of our coast; namely, the Martello Towers; — which, besides being comparatively cheap and simple in their construction, are not capable of being used against us with any effect, even if they should fall into the hands of the enemy.

It now becomes necessary to advert to the share which Mr. Windham took in the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, for his conduct while administering the government of India. This measure, though considered in its time to be of the very first importance, is now only remembered by the unparalleled combination of talents called forth in the prosecution of it. Of the impeachment itself, it is perhaps needless to say more than merely to remark, that, though it was countenanced by Mr. Pitt, directed by Mr. Burke, and supported by almost unrivalled efforts of eloquence on the part of that extraordinary man, as well as of Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, it lingered on from session to

session, till even its power to excite attention seemed exhausted; and it was at length dismissed almost to oblivion, by the very few peers who could be induced to give a vote upon it. The particular charge, however, which was intrusted to Mr. Windham's management, must be concisely noticed. It alleged perfidy and oppression in the Governor-General, in the breach of a treaty which had been made with the Nabob Fyzoola Khan in 1774, after his territories had been invaded by the Company's troops, and the sum of 150,000l. had been paid by him upon ratifying the Convention. The case, as it was stated, was certainly one which could not fail to call forth indignation from a man of whom a high sense of honour, and a warm sympathy with the injured, were striking characteristics. In maintaining this charge, Mr. Windham extended his parliamentary reputation; and throughout the proceedings against Mr. Hastings, he fought by the side of Mr. Burke, always ready as well as proud to defend him against the attacks which were personally, and sometimes coarsely, made upon him, as the acknowledged leader of the impeachment.

Late in the autumn of 1788, the King became afflicted with the disorder with which recently he has again been visited, and under which he still unhappily labours. On this occasion, Mr. Windham warmly entered into the feelings, and supported the opinions, of his political friends, who contended, both for the hereditary right of the Prince of Wales to assume the Regency, and, during that assumption, for his full enjoyment of the royal prerogatives, unfettered by re-

strictions. On each of these points, however, the minister was triumphant. The right of the two Houses of Parliament "to provide means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority," was recognized in a formal resolution; and the Prince of Wales, by an exertion of this right, was to be empowered to administer the royal authority, under the title of Regent, subject to limitations, which restrained him from granting peerages, reversions, and offices for life. But before the bill for this purpose had passed through the forms of the House of Lords, it was rendered unnecessary by His Majesty's happy recovery, which was announced to parliament on the 10th of March 1789.

Towards the end of this session, Mr. Windham called the attention of government to a requisition from France, which was then suffering the greatest distress from a scarcity of grain. The object of this requisition was, to be supplied with 20,000 sacks of flour from this country. So small a boon ought to be granted, he thought, from motives of humanity, and might be safely granted; but a committee of the House of Commons having decided against it, the ministers, though they professed themselves disposed to afford the relief sought for, would not, after such a decision, undertake to grant it upon their own responsibility. The leading part which Mr. Windham took in favour of this requisition occasioned amongst some of his constituents at Norwich a considerable clamour. He allayed the storm by a printed letter, addressed "To those of the citizens of Norwich who are most likely to be affected

by an increase in the price of provisions, and to whom a handbill containing what is called 'Mr. Windham's Speech,' &c. may be supposed to be addressed." This letter, on account of its good sense and good humour, its acuteness and spirit, seems well to deserve republication *.

In the session of 1790 (4th March) he gave his firm and decided opposition to Mr. Flood's motion for a Reform of Parliament. It will be remembered that upon this question he had made up his mind at an early period; and it will hereafter be seen that the opinions he then formed, remained unshaken to the close of his life. On the present occasion, he differed from Mr. Fox, and his principal political connexions in that house, Mr. Burke excepted. His speech was pronounced by Mr. Pitt to contain "much ingenuity, and in some respects as much wisdom and argument as he had ever heard in the walls of that house." Mr. Pitt, however, professed himself to remain, after the most mature deliberation, a firm and zealous friend to parliamentary reform; though, fearing that the cause might suffer disgrace from its being brought forward at an improper moment, he recommended Mr. Flood to withdraw his motion. Mr. Windham, in the course of his speech on this occasion, made a strong allusion to the "swarms of strange, impracticable notions which had lately been wafted over to us from the Continent, to prey like locusts on the fairest flowers of our soil; — to destroy the boasted beauty and verdure of

* See the Appendix to this narrative (B).

our constitution." It appears, therefore, that, at this early stage of it, he foresaw the evil results of the French Revolution.

In June 1790, the parliament was dissolved and Mr. Windham was again elected for Norwich; after a very slight opposition, which had been occasioned chiefly by a supposed but disavowed coalition of his interest with that of the late Mr. Hobart.

During the first session of the new parliament, he strongly reprobated the conduct of the ministers, in relation to their armaments against Spain and Russia, which had respectively been occasioned by disputes concerning the possession of Nootka Sound and Oczakow. On a renewal of the latter question, in the succeeding session, he again forcibly expressed his disapprobation of the measures which had been pursued by government. It should also be noticed, for the sake of recording hereafter a proof of the consistency of his sentiments on another subject, that in February 1791 he earnestly supported a bill which was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Mitford (now Lord Redesdale), for the purpose of relieving from certain penalties and disabilities the protesting Catholic Dissenters of England.

It now becomes necessary to advert to an event, which, though it cannot justly be said to have occasioned any change in the general turn of Mr. Windham's political opinions, had ultimately the effect of separating him from many of the persons with whom he had hitherto been acting. This event was the French Revolution. Of the commencement and early

progress of it, he had been more than a common observer; he had, for a short time, been an actual spectator of the scene. When we recollect what the first feelings were, which the new and imposing appearance of things in France had generally excited, not only in this country, but throughout Europe, it will not seem surprizing if Mr. Windham did not instantly foresee all the mischiefs that were about to spring from it. We have already found, however, that at so early a period as March 1790, he was awake to the danger, and prepared to meet it. Soon after that declaration of his sentiments, the memorable publication of Mr. Burke's "Reflections" produced what may be called a new division of the nation. To one part of the country, it communicated alarm and suggested precaution, while from the other, it served to call forth an avowal of opinions, which before were rather suspected as possible, than believed really to exist; at least, to any considerable extent. The boldness of the answers to Mr. Burke (particularly of that by Paine, contained in his celebrated "Rights of Man") fully confirmed the apprehensions which had been raised, and marked out a definite line of boundary between what were now to be the two great parties of this country and the world.

Of these parties, which, in the warmth of their opposition, were branded with the reproachful titles of "Alarmists" and "Jacobins," it will not seem strange that Mr. Windham should have taken his side amongst the former. His dread of popular innovations upon the constitution he had frequently, and indeed

uniformly expressed, as often as an occasion had called for it. We have seen that, in the outset of life, he sacrificed his claims upon the representation of Westminster to his dislike of the prevailing doctrine of parliamentary reform; and we have also found that, just before he obtained a seat for another place, he fairly and honourably told those who were about to choose him, that a subserviency to popular notions was not to be expected from him. The very question upon which he, at that time, differed from his constituents, was one in which he took part with the aristocracy against the temporary clamours of the people. With sentiments of this nature, so broadly avowed, and so uniformly acted upon, he might justly have been reproached with inconsistency, if he had now lent his authority to the approbation of French principles, or his voice to a cry for reform and revolution. Happily, on the contrary, he opposed both the principles and the cry, and took his stand by the side of Mr. Burke. Nor was he alone in this decision. The Duke of Portland, the Earls Fitzwilliam and Spencer, with many other persons of rank and character amongst the opposition, felt it to be their duty to support the government against the dangers with which the wide-spreading contagion of French example seemed in their judgment to threaten it.

One of the first public manifestations of this feeling was occasioned by the Proclamation against Seditious Meetings, which was issued by Government in May 1792. This measure, which was decried by Mr. Fox and many of his friends, received, on the contrary,

the full sanction, both in and out of Parliament, of the distinguished persons who have just been alluded to. At a public meeting in Norfolk, called for the purpose of voting an Address of Thanks to His Majesty for having sent forth this Proclamation, Mr. Windham took occasion to avow, in the most explicit manner, his opinions on the questions which agitated the country. He rested his support to the Proclamation chiefly on the three following grounds: — the dissemination of writings tending to render the people dissatisfied with their government — the existence of clubs, where delusive remedies were projected for supposed evils — and the correspondence of those clubs with others of the most dangerous character in Paris *.

In the beginning of 1793, the country was at war with France. It would be superfluous in this place to trace the series of outrages at Paris, which occasioned the recall of our Ambassador, and were followed by the trials and executions of the unfortunate Louis and his Queen. They were events which made a deep impression on Mr. Windham, strengthening both his abhorrence of French principles, and his conviction of the necessity of opposing the progress of them by our arms. In the sessions of 1793 and 1794, he gave, on every occasion, his unqualified support to the measures of Government for prosecuting the war, and for repressing seditious practices. And in the month of

* For a newspaper report of this speech, see the Appendix to this sketch (C).

April in the latter year, he distinguished himself in Norfolk by eloquently recommending the measure of a voluntary subscription, to be applied in the defence of the country. On this occasion, he was reminded of the conduct he had observed in 1778, with respect to subscriptions in aid of the American war; and he defended himself by adverting to the striking difference that existed between the circumstances of the two contests *.

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* Though the following letter to his nephew, Captain Lukin, does not contain any general view of the questions of the day, it may, perhaps, on account of its references to them, be acceptable to the reader. The pleasure with which he appears to relate an instance of British bravery, is perfectly in character: —

"*Hill Street, March* 22, 1794.

"DEAR WILLIAM,

"THE papers of yesterday announced your return to the Downs with some Danish vessels, arrested in consequence of the late orders. I hope it may turn out that they will be made prizes. The conduct of these Swedes and Danes is so perfectly rascally, that I have no sort of compassion for them, and none, I dare say, will be felt by those who will find such good account in this kind of neutral war. The only danger is, that they may be driven at last to join themselves openly to those to whom they are now giving every kind of clandestine assistance. Though they will find their own destruction in this, they may, in the main, considerably embarrass our operations.

"No great stroke has yet been struck by any of the armies on the continent. Our campaign here too, in the Houses of Parliament, is pretty quiet. If it was not for the trial of Mr. Hastings, and the delay which his friends create, by insisting on the presence of the judges, and adjourning the proceedings in consequence, till after the circuit, we might be set at liberty in a few weeks; and

About this time, an offer was made by Mr. Pitt's administration, to form a new cabinet which should include the leaders of the Whig *Alarmists*. This pro-

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I should then be tempted to make an excursion towards the coast, and to meet you probably either at the Downs or at Portsmouth.

"There is another business indeed that may call me towards Norfolk. With a view to the possibility of a descent, troops of different sorts are proposed to be raised in aid of the militia; one class of which will be volunteer cavalry, composed of persons who are in a state to furnish their own horses, and till they are called out of their own county (which is to be only in the case of actual invasion) are to receive no pay, nor any thing from government, but their saddles and arms. What think you of the possibility of my raising a troop of fifty such persons, including such as part of those concerned may be willing to hire or bring with them, in addition to themselves? Should the occasion not arise in which their services will be really wanted, the trouble will be very little, as I should not propose their meeting more than once a week; and the expence would be no more nor so much as attends their weekly meetings at market. For a uniform, I would have nothing but a plain coat, such as they might wear at other times, or no more ornamented than might make them a little proud of it. I believe something of this sort I must attempt, and if it could be settled without the necessity of more attention on my part than I ought to allow myself to spare from other objects, I should not dislike to have such a troop established under my direction.

"Mr. Courtenay (the member), who dined with me yesterday, shewed me a letter which he had received from a Mr. Hayes, one of the Lieutenants, I conceive, on board the Boston, in which an interesting account is given of some of the principal circumstances of the action. It appears, by his account, that the Boston had only 200 hands, not above 30 of whom had ever before been on board, while the Ambuscade had 450. This difference I suppose must have told considerably; much more than the difference

posal Mr. Windham at first wished to be rejected; thinking that his friends and himself, by continuing out of office, could give their support to the general objects of Government more effectually and independently than they could with seats in the cabinet; and, at the same time, would be left more at liberty to declare their opinions respecting any particular measures connected with the conduct of the war, upon which there were likely to be grounds of variance. Mr. Burke, however, thought differently; his opinion was, that the usefulness of his friends to the country would depend on their being placed in situations which would give them a fair prospect of being able to direct the counsels of Government. His advice prevailed with the majority of those to whom the offer had been made, though not at first with the Duke of Portland. Arrangements were then proposed, under which Mr. Windham was to become one of the Secretaries of

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of four guns which the French frigate had beyond ours. The conduct of one of the Lieutenants, Mr. Kerr, seems to have been singularly gallant. He staid on deck, after he had received a cannister shot through his shoulder, and till a splinter striking him on the face altogether blinded him. The first Lieutenant too, a Mr Edwards, though wounded badly in the hand, came up again after the Captain's death, to take the command of the ship. In a former account, it was said, I think, that he had fainted from loss of blood. It is said in this letter, that there was a French fleet in sight at the time when the Boston bore up.

"Let me hear from you when you have any thing to tell, and believe me,

"Your affectionate Uncle,

"W. WINDHAM."

State; but at length the Duke of Portland's reluctance to accept office having been overcome, it was thought proper, in consideration of his high rank and influence in the country, to place him in the office which had been intended for Mr. Windham, the latter consenting to accept the inferior one of Secretary at War, with a seat in the cabinet. The emoluments of this office amounted only to 2,480l. a year. The distinction of a seat in the cabinet was first annexed to it on this occasion, and has since been granted only for a few months to one of Mr. Windham's numerous successors. Lords Fitzwilliam and Spencer also joined the cabinet. Lord Loughborough (afterwards Earl of Rosslyn) had received the appointment of Lord Chancellor a few months earlier. Mr. Burke accepted a pension, which was justly due to his merits and services, and withdrew from Parliament, considering himself disqualified by age and declining health for taking an active part in the measures of Government.

On going down to Norwich in July 1794, to be re-elected, in consequence of his acceptance of office, Mr. Windham met with an opposition, which was raised in favour of Mr. Mingay, the King's counsel, but without that Gentleman's knowledge. Though Mr. Windham was completely triumphant on the poll, he found a rough reception from the populace, who considered themselves to be severely suffering by the war. On his being chaired in the evening, a stone was thrown at him, but he avoided the blow, jumped down from his chair, seized the culprit, and delivered him over into the hands of an officer.

Very soon after his acceptance of office, Mr. Windham, at the request of his colleagues, undertook a mission to our army in Flanders; for the purpose, it is understood, of explaining in confidence to the Duke of York, certain reasons which induced the ministers to make a new arrangement for the command of the forces. He sailed for Helvoetsluys in the latter end of August, and after executing the business of his mission, remained a short time at His Royal Highness's head quarters, gratifying his love of military pursuits, by a taste of a soldier's life on service * He returned to England early in October.

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* A familiar letter written by Mr. Windham, during this embassy, to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Lukin, will furnish some descriptions which the reader may think not altogether uninteresting: —

"*Berlikom*, near *Bois le Duc*, *Sept.* 12, 1794.

"THE ways of a camp life are so idle, that all the habits of business which I may be supposed to have acquired in the last two months, seem to give way before them; and I am in danger of finding myself a worse correspondent here, where I have so much to tell, and so much time for telling it, than I was in London, when occupied from morning till night, and when my occupations would leave me but little else to talk of. In fact, the pleasure of moving about in a scene so full of interest, the fatigue that is apt to follow, and the want of a comfortable room to retire to, are the causes that prove so fatal to my correspondence, and the reasons why, for want of a little occasional respite, my pleasure in this situation is less than it should be.

"We are, as you will have learned from one of my former letters, near Bois le Duc, which is rather a large town, and a strong fortress belonging to the Dutch. About three miles from this place are the Duke's head quarters, and at four or five miles fur-

In his new capacity, Mr. Windham vindicated the measures of government in parliament with a degree of warmth and openness which by some persons was cen-

ther is the camp. The immediate place of my residence is the village where head quarters are, and I am lodged in the house of a Dutch attorney. The country about is light and sandy, affording very pleasant rides, which are not the less so from your occasionally meeting bodies of troops, of different dresses, establishments, and countries. The variety in this respect is not so great as it was last year, nor, from a number of circumstances, is the scene so interesting, after allowing even for the difference of its not being seen, as that was, for the first time. The relief which all this gives, after confinement during the summer to London, and to such business as that of the war-office, is more than you can conceive. It has given me a new stock of health; and the beauty of the autumn mornings, joined to the general idleness in which one lives by necessity, and therefore without self-reproach, has given me a feeling of youthful enjoyment, such as I now but rarely know. You cannot conceive how you would like a ride here, with the idea that if you wandered too far, and went beyond the out-posts, you might be carried off by a French patrole. It is the enjoyment that George Faulknor was supposed to describe, of a scene near Dublin, where "the delighted spectator expects every moment to be crushed by the impending rocks."

"Were public business out of the question, I should stay here probably for a week or two longer; but, as it is, my stay must be regulated by other considerations, and it is probable that the messenger whom we are waiting for impatiently may occasion my departure immediately. The general state of things is as bad as need be.

"The shooters in your part of the world must not suppose that they have all the sport to themselves. So strong is the love of mischief among men, that all the shooting of one another that is going on here, does not prevent their filling up their intervals by a little murder of partridges.

sured as indiscreet. To that sort of discretion, indeed, which consists in dissembling opinions and feelings, Mr. Windham was an utter stranger. He thought that the common maxim, "honesty is the best policy,"

"I am not the only person, probably, from the parish of Felbrigg, who is now with the army. There is a son of the family of Ransome, whom Moreton was charged some time since to make enquiry after, and who I hope is alive; though there is some reason to suppose that he is wounded. A brother of James, too, who lives with your brother, is supposed to be here, and about him I shall make enquiry.

"Farewell: I hope you are going on well at home: that Anne is recovered, and that the rest are gay.

"W. W."

In the above letter there is an allusion to a visit which he had made in the preceding year, before he was in office, to our army at Valenciennes. The paragraph which relates to a Felbrigg man, about whom his servant, Moreton, had been desired to make enquiry, is preserved as a characteristic trait of his kind attention to inferiors.

A trifling anecdote, which the author has heard Mr. Windham relate with some glee, may perhaps in this place be deemed admissible. While on this expedition, he happened to fall into conversation with an elderly Dutch clergyman, who questioned him very closely as to the establishment and discipline of the church of England. These enquiries he answered in a way that seemed satisfactory; but they were followed by others of a more puzzling nature, concerning the mechanical process (if it may so be called) by which some English preachers occasionally *manufacture* their sermons. Upon Mr. Windham's confessing his ignorance of this subject, the Dutchman, in a tone of disappointment, exclaimed, "Why then I find, Sir, after all the conversation we have had, that I have been deceived as to your profession. They told me you were an *English Minister*."

was as valuable in courts and cabinets as in the ordinary concerns in life. It is true that, by pursuing this conduct, he sometimes gave opportunities to his adversaries to turn to his disadvantage any hasty or strong expressions which might fall from him in the course of a warm debate. Among those which were imputed to him, the greatest triumph was assumed by the opposition of the day from that of "perish commerce — let the constitution live." But it is curious enough that this remarkable sentiment, which was first charged on him in a pamphlet under the fictitious signature of Jasper Wilson, and was afterwards echoed and re-echoed through the country, had in fact never been uttered by him, but was owned by Mr. Hardinge. Mr. Windham, however, though he denied having spoken the words, justified the sentiment, under the explanation which he gave of it, namely, a preference, as an *alternative*, of government, order, and the British laws, above mere wealth and commercial prosperity.

In July 1795, an expedition, composed of Emigrants, proceeded against Quiberon. For this project, which unhappily failed, Mr. Windham always held himself responsible. He thought it a most important object that an attempt should be made to assist the efforts of those Frenchmen who were bravely struggling at home against republican usurpation; and he earnestly wished that such an experiment should be tried with a far greater force than was actually employed in it. He always remained firmly of opinion that the royalist war in France had been too lightly considered by our

government; and that if the tide had been "taken at the head," the family of Bourbon might have been restored to the throne of their ancestors. Of the extent of the war in La Vendée, which seemed to be but little known in this country, Mr. Windham took an opportunity, some years afterwards, of giving a very forcible description, in the Appendix to his speech on the Peace of Amiens *.

Upon the dissolution of parliament in 1796, Mr. Windham was, for the fourth time, chosen member for Norwich. An opposition, however, of a much more formidable nature than that in 1794, was attempted in favour of Mr. Bartlett Gurney, a banker, of considerable local influence, who was defeated by a majority of only 83. Mr. Thelwall, the celebrated political lecturer, was at Norwich during this election, and endeavoured to sharpen the contest by his popular harangues in the market place, against Mr. Windham, and the war-system of the Pitt administration.

The two following letters addressed to a friend, will furnish the reader with some of the impressions made on Mr. Windham by the state of continental affairs in 1796:

"*Park Street, Westminster,*

"DEAR SIR, *August 6th* 1796.

"I HAVE turned in my mind what you mentioned of your views respecting Genoa, and will take the first opportunity of speaking upon the subject to Lord

* See Vol. II. of this work.

Grenville; but I much doubt whether any situation, such as your wishes seem to point to, is likely to be found. The prospect of things in that part of the world, as well as every where else, is bad indeed. The question is, how might this have been avoided, and, what is still more to the purpose, how may it now be avoided. The opposition will say to the first, "by having remained at peace." But, besides that that was not in our power, I should rather say, "by having resolved earlier to go to war, and by having seen better than the allies in general have done, the true nature of that war." While the French understood perfectly their own views, and have taken the straight road to universal dominion, other nations have not understood equally their own danger. The consequence is, that this danger now threatens to overwhelm them.

"Should a time arrive when the zeal and energy of individuals of all descriptions must be called for, as I foresee is likely to be the case, I shall not forget the tender which you so properly and so handsomely make of your services. I hope, should that period arrive, we shall all shew equal spirit and alacrity with the young soldier whose letter I return to you.

"I am, dear Sir,
"Your very faithful,
"and obedient Servant,
"W. WINDHAM."

" *Park Street, Westminster,*

" DEAR SIR, *September* 21 1796.

" I RECEIVE with more grief than surprize the account you send me of the fate of your poor nephew, whose return to his friends and country I never allowed myself to count upon, any more than upon that of many other brave and promising men, employed in the same fatal climate. To the losses that happen in the field of battle one can, in some measure, reconcile one's-self, and they are comparatively small; but the ravages of these fatal climates are so extensive and so unceasing, that one cannot bear to look to that side of the war. I will not fail to return you his letter the moment I have time to turn to it, but I cannot forbear, in the meanwhile, to offer my condolence to yourself and his other relations, on the loss of a youth in whose success and safety I had myself contracted a very lively interest.

" The calamities of war are undoubtedly very great; but it does not follow that every transaction that may call itself Peace will ultimately be the means of diminishing them, even if it should not bring on calamities of a worse kind. Suppose, for instance, that that peace should be made upon terms so advantageous to the republick, as to give them the command of all the coast of Europe; and, by enabling them, in consequence, to shut against us, in a great measure, all the ports of Europe, to set them up as our rivals in trade, in such circumstances as may give them a decided superiority in that respect. The jealousy of other countries, the connexion of

France with America, the rapid increase of their marine, supported by that of Spain and Holland, and supplied and pushed forward by those resources which are now expended in the maintenance of immense armies, may well give such a turn to trade and manufactures, as in a very short time to begin the operation of sinking the commercial consequence of this country, and that operation once begun, will not fail to go on very rapidly.

"You have already a proof of the effect that empire will have on trade, in the stopping up of the port of Leghorn, and the termination of all intercourse with Spain. Spain is now, and has long been, a country devoted to France, and it remains to be seen how long Portugal will be otherwise than in the same state. All these are consequences resulting from military and political ascendancy, yet I fear we may happen to find that they have a close connexion with national and commercial prosperity: so little true it is, as many are led to think, that war and commerce must always be adverse to one another.

"I will not fail to bear in mind your wishes on the different objects to which they point, should any opportunity offer of promoting them. Let me beg you to believe me, dear Sir, in the meantime, with sincere concern for the loss which you and Mrs. —— have sustained,

"Your very obedient,
"and faithful Servant,
"W. WINDHAM."

In the following year (1797) Mr. Windham had to deplore the loss of his illustrious friend Mr. Burke, whose memory he ever regarded with the warmest affection, as well as the profoundest veneration. He considered the extinction of such eloquence and wisdom as a heavy misfortune to the country, in the difficulties with which it was then struggling. In a letter to Captain Lukin, dated 16 November 1797, he says, "I do not reckon it amongst the least calamities of the times, certainly not among those that affect me least, that the world has now lost Mr. Burke. Oh! how much may we rue that his counsels were not followed! Oh! how exactly do we see verified all that he has predicted."

On the 10th of July 1798, Mr. Windham married Cecilia, one of the daughters of the late Admiral Arthur Forrest, an officer who attained the highest reputation in his profession, and whose gallant exploit in the year 1758, when with three English ships he attacked and beat off seven French ones, will be ever distinguished in our naval annals. The truly amiable and excellent qualities of Mrs. Windham, and the interchange of affectionate attentions which marked this union from the commencement to the close of it, are topicks upon which it would be grateful but needless to dilate.

Of Mr. Windham's political and parliamentary course, during the remainder of the period in which he continued in office with Mr. Pitt, it seems unnecessary to speak much in detail; nor indeed could it be done without entering into a historical relation of the

vents of the war, which would be quite inconsistent with the limited nature of the present narrative. It may be sufficient to observe generally, that he strenuously resisted every proposal which was made for seeking a peace with the French republick, as well as every measure which, under the specious name of Reform, tended, as he thought, to the subversion of the constitution. The union with Ireland at length indirectly occasioned the dissolution of the cabinet. Mr. Windham's own statement on this subject is so explicit and decisive that it may be proper to quote it here, though it will necessarily find a place in another part of the present work *. "When the proposition," said he, "for the union was first brought forward, I had strong objections to the measure, and I was only reconciled to it upon the idea that all disabilities attaching on the Catholics of Ireland were to be removed, and that the whole population would be united in interests and affections. Believing this to be the case, and finding that impediments were started to this measure much stronger than I was prepared to apprehend, I relinquished the administration, because I thought the measure indispensable to the safety of this empire." His resignation, which took place in February 1801, accompanied five of his colleagues; viz. Mr. Pitt, the Lord Chancellor (Loughborough), Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Dundas. In the new administration, Mr. Adding-

* See speech on the Irish Catholic Petition, Vol. II. p. 277

ton was placed at the head of the treasury, bearing of course the acknowledged character of prime minister.

Mr. Windham had been in office nearly seven years, and during that time had effected many regulations by which the army was materially benefited. By one of these, the wives and families of soldiers serving abroad were enabled to obtain information of their relatives with much greater facility and regularity than before; and the fee which had been customary on such enquiries was abolished. The pay of subalterns, non-commissioned officers and privates, as well as the pensions to officers' widows, were increased by him; and that admirable institution, the Royal Military Asylum, owed its establishment to his humane suggestions and active exertions.

In the cabinet it appears that he had differed from Mr. Pitt and the majority of his colleagues, both with respect to the object and to the conduct of the war. He always broadly avowed the opinions which have been before referred to, and which were also maintained by Mr. Burke; namely, that the legitimate object of the war was the restoration of the House of Bourbon, and that this object could only be accomplished by giving liberal encouragement to the exertions of the Royalists in France. That he was wrong with respect to the efficacy of those means, can hardly be inferred from any actual experience of facts; for the attempts which were made to succour the Royalists owed their failure to other causes than a want of energy in the persons intended to be benefited by them. Perhaps, when we look to the contest which, with our assistance,

the people of Spain are now so gloriously maintaining, we may be inclined to think that Mr. Windham's proposition was not so extravagant as it was supposed to be; and that, with similar aid, the inhabitants of the provinces of France might have emancipated themselves and their country from the tyranny of the Jacobins of Paris. He certainly thought the war had been conducted on our part with too little attention to the purposes for which it had been originally undertaken;—that it had become a war of shifts and expedients; a contest for petty and remote objects, rather than for near and vital ones. These opinions he repeatedly expressed to some of his colleagues in long and detailed letters, which were in fact state-papers of a most valuable kind. But his differences with the cabinet, important as they were, did not induce him to relinquish office. His choice lay between those who wished to carry on the war, though in a way which he did not think the most desirable, and those who would not carry it on at all. It was clearly his duty, consistently with his opinions, to support the war itself at all events, however conducted; and to continue to use such influence as his official situation might afford him, towards recommending that system of conduct which he thought to be the true one.

The emoluments of his office were, as we have already seen, of a very trifling amount, totally inadequate indeed to the rank and station of a cabinet minister; nor was his retirement accompanied by pension or advantage of any kind. He returned, however, to private life, with the gratifying reward of his Sovereign's

marked approbation. His Majesty took an early occasion of commanding Mr. Windham's attendance at Weymouth, and honoured him, during his stay, with distinguishing proofs of kindness and esteem.

During the prorogation of Parliament in 1801, the new ministers settled preliminaries of peace with France and her allies. This measure Mr. Windham regarded, not less in the terms than in the principle, as highly dangerous to the interests of the country. On the first discussion of this subject, which was upon an Address of Thanks to His Majesty, he was unable to deliver his sentiments; but on the following day, (Nov. 4th.) when the report of the Address was brought up, he pronounced the celebrated speech * which he afterwards published in the form of a Pamphlet, subjoining to it an Appendix, which is valuable for the information it contains, as well as for the vigour with which it is composed.

The definitive treaty, which was ratified a few months afterwards, he considered to be even more censurable than the preliminaries had been; and in conformity with this opinion, he moved an Address to His Majesty on the 13th of May 1802, deploring the sacrifices which had been submitted to by the treaty, and expressing apprehensions for the safety of the empire, in the immense accession of territory, influence, and power which had been confirmed to France. He prefaced this Address with an eloquent and powerful speech, but after a debate which occupied two evenings

* See Vol. II. p. 1.

the motion was negatived by 278 votes against 22 including tellers. Lord Grenville moved a similar address in the House of Lords, which was rejected by 122 against 16. So popular was the Peace of Amiens, that only 16 peers and 22 commoners could be found to disapprove of it! Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though on different grounds, were found amongst its supporters.

In June 1802, the ministers took advantage of a favourable moment for dissolving the Parliament, which had now completed its sixth year. The Peace of Amiens had "bought them golden opinions," which were to be "worn in their newest gloss;" and the returns from the popular elections, with some few exceptions, served to shew that the people approved of the peace and the peace-makers. Mr. Windham, on the other hand, fell a victim to the intrepidity he had shewn in opposing this darling measure. After having represented Norwich for eighteen years, he lost his seat to Mr. William Smith, one of its present members, who had been invited thither to oppose him. In his defeat, however, he had 1356 votes, falling short of his adversary's number only by eighty-three. In the farewell address which he wrote upon this occasion (and which was published in the joint names of himself and his colleague, the late Mr. Frere), he expressed his feelings in very strong and emphatic terms. The contest he described to be one of great political importance; and so the public seemed to consider it, for the loss of this election afforded matter of triumph even to the newspapers of Paris, which, for some time past, had been remarkable for their

coarse and violent attacks on Mr. Windham's antigallican opinions.

A subscription was immediately set on foot at Norwich for the purpose of bringing him forward as a candidate for the county of Norfolk; and so powerful were the exertions of his friends, that Mr. Wodehouse, who had just before offered himself as a candidate on the same interest, was induced to withdraw himself from the field. Mr. Windham, however, withstood the solicitations of his friends, strongly as they were pressed upon him, and declined a contest which he foresaw would be wasteful and hazardous. He took his seat for the borough of St. Mawes, which the kindness of the Grenville family had secured for him as a retreat, in the event of a repulse at Norwich. His friends at the latter place, though his political connexion with them no longer existed, were unwilling to extinguish all recollection of it. They celebrated his birth-day by annual meetings, which were fully attended; and they gave themselves the additional satisfaction of placing in their public hall, by means of a subscription, a well-executed portrait of him by the late Mr. Hoppner, from which has been taken the whole length mezzotinto print by Reynolds, now become familiar to the public eye.

During the first session of the new parliament, the bad faith of the French government, which had been the subject of his predictions, was revealed to the country by the ministers, to whom in fact it had become apparent very soon after the ratification of the Definitive Treaty. War appeared inevitable; and

though Mr. Fox and some of his friends at first recommended that means for preventing it should be sought for through the mediation of Russia, yet, after the first shock had ceased to be felt, all ranks and descriptions of persons throughout the country prepared to engage in the new contest with alacrity and vigour. By a man influenced more by individual, and less by public feeling, than Mr. Windham was, this fulfilment of his predictions might have been considered as affording a proud triumph of opinion; but such a sentiment, if momentarily excited in him, was effectually damped by others of a graver kind. Though he had blamed the peace, he lamented but did not oppose the sudden renewal of hostilities. He regarded it as an evil, but in the choice which was then held out to us, as a less evil than the continuance of the peace would have been. The following extract from a letter which he addressed to the writer of this narrative, before the actual declaration of war had been made, and before the country had shewn the disposition which was afterwards so strongly manifested, may serve concisely to describe the impression which the anticipation of war had made upon him:—

"*Pall Mall, May* 17, 1803.

"A GREAT ferment is, I conclude, excited by the sort of assurance which we seem to have now, that war must take place. I say *sort of assurance*, for I can hardly yet persuade myself that something of a hope in the minds of the ministers is not still in reserve. This, at least, one may venture to say, that

unless the country be made fully sensible of its danger, and bestir itself in a way far different from what it does at present, the war can lead to nothing but disgrace and ruin, producing consequences nearly as fatal as even peace itself would have done. Nothing can be a greater mistake than to suppose that those who deplored the Peace of Amiens must therefore rejoice in the recommencement of war. One of the reasons for deploring the peace was, the foreseeing that war, whenever it should take place again, must recommence in circumstances of immense disadvantage. Still greater must those disadvantages be, if the country return to war, with no adequate feeling of its situation, and, in consequence, with no disposition to make those efforts, and to submit to those privations which can alone give it a chance of success. This only I feel certain of, that we must soon have perished in peace; and this effect at least may result from war begun even as this seems likely to be, that it may stop the progress of the ruin which was before coming fast upon us. Whatever the feeling and temper of the nation may be, our means of resistance are certainly greater than they were likely to be at a later period; including always in the estimate of the decrease of our means, the rapidly increasing power of France. When people compare the circumstances in which war is to be begun, with those in which it might have been continued a year and a half ago, they will begin perhaps to suspect that those who advised them to continue war then, were not altogether in the wrong. They certainly cannot complain that the experiment of the

peace has failed in consequence of any interruption from those who originally declared against it. They have the full blessings of their own counsels."

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, he opposed with considerable warmth the measure which Mr. Fox recommended, of seeking an adjustment of differences through the mediation of Russia; and he urged, on the contrary, the immediate adoption of the most vigorous means for the defence of the country. Of this description, however, he did not consider the measure proposed by the ministers for raising, by a scheme of ballot and substitution, what was called an Army of Reserve; nor was he disposed to approve of the indiscriminate employment of a large and expensive establishment of volunteers. His speeches on these subjects not only contain some of the most amusing specimens of his eloquence, but may be regarded, perhaps, as valuable essays on military topics, from which those who remain unconvinced by his arguments, may glean much useful information, conveyed to them in a pleasing and popular form *.

To the volunteers he was falsely represented as an enemy. He admired and uniformly extolled the spirit which they manifested in the moment of danger; as well as their total disregard of personal inconvenience and privations. But while he admitted their usefulness if employed as light independent bodies, trained

* See Vol. II.

as marksmen, and not clogged with the discipline of regulars, he lamented to see them formed into battalions, and attempted to be forced by a kind of hot-bed into troops of the line. To hang on the rear of an invading enemy, to cut off his supplies, to annoy him from concealed points by keeping up an irregular fire, were services which he conceived volunteers might easily learn and skilfully execute; but the steady and exact discipline which is required from troops destined to face an enemy in the field of battle, he thought their previous habits, unsuitable avocations, and scanty means of receiving instruction, would totally forbid them from attaining. The history of the glorious struggle which has since been maintained in Spain will furnish a strong confirmation of the accuracy of this distinction; for it will be recollected that the hasty levies of the patriots have been almost uniformly repulsed and scattered, when they have ventured directly to oppose the enemy in the field; while, on the other hand, their activity as irregular troops has principally enabled them to protract for four years a contest against armies formidable in numbers as well as in discipline and experience. There were other objections which Mr. Windham conceived against the volunteers, constituted as Government allowed them to be. The expence which he considered to be unnecessarily incurred in dress and in pay, as well as under many other heads, he did not fail to protest against; and his complaints were still heavier with respect to the distribution of rank which was lavishly bestowed

amongst the officers of the volunteer establishment, and which he conceived must prove not only offensive to the regular officers, but, in case of actual service, even dangerous to the country. The exemptions too, which were granted to volunteers, he regarded as highly mischievous, from their tendency to lock up men from better descriptions of service. None of these objections, however, applied to the volunteers themselves; but were directed merely against their constitution, for which they were not to be blamed. It may be safely affirmed that he was entirely friendly to the volunteers as men, and disposed to turn their services to the best account of which he conceived them capable.

It was not in the House of Commons alone that he recommended activity and vigour. He gave his full attention, during the autumn of this year (1803), to the defence of the county of Norfolk, where (besides raising a company of volunteers at Felbrigg, of which he was first the captain, and afterwards the colonel, on its being joined by Government in a battalion with other corps), he personally surveyed a great part of the coast, attended the meetings of Deputy-Lieutenants, and strongly urged the necessity of some local measures of defence, which, however, were not adopted. At one of these meetings, he proposed a set of resolutions containing some accurate and detailed information relative to the state of the Norfolk coast; these resolutions were not passed, but the author of this sketch has in his possession a copy of them,

which, for obvious reasons, it would be improper to publish *.

He returned to his parliamentary duty in November 1803, at the opening of the session, in the course of which a change took place in the state of parties for which the publick seemed scarcely prepared. In order the better to understand the causes which led to this change, it will be necessary to look back to the period which immediately followed the dissolution of Mr. Pitt's cabinet in 1801. — The members of that cabinet who resigned their seats will be observed almost immediately to have discovered differences of opinion amongst themselves, and the Peace of Amiens served to complete their disunion. Mr. Pitt and many of his friends approved of the Peace, or at least of the principles on which it was formed; and gave their general, though not unqualified, support to Mr. Addington's administration; while, on the other hand, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham warmly opposed the ministers on the subject of the Peace as well as occasionally on other measures. From this opposition had sprung a party at first more formidable in talents than in numbers, consisting of the three ex-ministers last named, of the immediate connexions of the Grenville family, and of the surviving personal friends of Mr. Burke; — the latter class including the highly respectable names of Lords Fitzwilliam and Minto, Mr. William Elliot, and Dr. Lawrence. From

* Mr. Windham took occasion to refer to these resolutions in his first speech in the ensuing session, on the 23d Nov. 1803.

this small hostile band, the ministers appeared for a time to receive but little annoyance, backed as they generally were by the powerful aid of Mr. Pitt and his friends; and having also, by a course of conciliatory measures, drawn over to their support some of the partizans of Mr. Fox. Among the latter, Mr. Sheridan became the open defender of the ministers, while Mr. Tierney gave them the full weight of his talents, by accepting an office at their hands. The opposition, too, of Mr. Fox and his remaining friends became only occasional, and was by no means conducted with the warmth which had characterised it in the time of Mr. Pitt's administration. The Peace of Amiens, as has been already seen, had even met with Mr. Fox's approbation. But on the renewal of the war, an opinion of the insufficiency of the ministers to conduct it seemed at once to prevail amongst all the other parties of the house; and all of them, though at first without any actual concert or arrangement, fell into an undisciplined yet effective opposition. The great questions on which they had so long differed were now at rest; — the French revolution had totally changed its course; — the war of 1793 was at an end; — the Peace of Amiens could not be recalled or amended. But a new question had arisen of vital importance to the country, namely, the conduct of the new war; and on this point, if the parties in opposition did not fully agree amongst themselves, they at least much more widely differed from the ministers than they did from each other. The party of which Lord Grenville was considered as the leader in one house and

Mr. Windham in the other, had in the meantime received a considerable increase of strength, both with respect to actual numbers, and to the confidence which, owing to the fulfillment of their predictions, the country had now begun to repose in them. It was in this state of things that the writer of this preface received from Mr. Windham a letter, from which the following is an extract:—

"*Pall Mall, January* 1, 1804.

"Upon the subject of coalitions, on which so much appears now, in the way of discussion, and on which you say there is so much anxiety in various quarters, I will write more another time; unless indeed, as I expect, I shall have an opportunity soon of talking with you, having settled at present, in consequence of these increasing reports of immediate invasion, to come in the course of the week into Norfolk. Writing or speaking, however, I can tell you nothing in respect to fact, as I know no more of any form of coalition, actually begun or projected, than is known to all the world. All that I can do is, to point out the odd inconsistency of persons, who, while they are declaiming continually against party, and exhorting people to forget their former differences, and to unite for the general interest, are ready to fall with all possible violence upon those who take the first step in obedience to that call. This inconsistency indeed is so obvious that it hardly seems to require being pointed out. Do they mean only to say, that you ought to unite with those with whom you are already united?

This would seem to be an exhortation not very necessary. And if you are to go beyond that, is the union to be with those with whom, disagreeing formerly, you now agree, or are you to take for your associates those with whom you agreed formerly, but now disagree? The nature of the thing seems to admit no other choice."

In a few days after the date of this letter, the author of this narrative received another from him, containing more detailed observations on the same subject:—

"*Pall Mall, January* 5, 1804.

"WITH respect to coalitions, I am sorry that opinions take the turn which you describe; for though nothing has been either said or done on that subject, that I know of, between any of the parties, such is evidently the point to which they seem in a certain degree to tend, and to which it is most devoutly to be wished that they should tend. What upon earth is it that people would have, or are wishing for? Is it desirable that such a man as Mr. Fox, powerful as he will be, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it, should for ever adhere to a system of politicks in which those who are supposed to mean the good of the country cannot join him? If he does not adhere to such a system, that is, if he has either been taught by experience that his system is wrong, or rather, putting all change on his part out of the question (which is the truer way), if on the questions of the present moment, he thinks as one would wish him,

is one not to co-operate with him, is one not to concert, to communicate with him, for giving effect to the opinions thus held in common? Upon what principle of common sense, or of common honesty, is this to be refused? Or how is the state ever to be served, or publick business ever to be carried on, if this is not the case? Men who have once differed upon any great question, must continue to differ for ever; till, in the course of not many years, no two men of any consideration will be found whom it will be possible to put together; and then that will happen which does happen, that a party will be formed out of all the underlings of all parties, whose oppositions have been just as great, and whose coalitions therefore must be just as monstrous, according to the phrase used, but of whom nobody complains, because neither their junctions nor oppositions have been matters that people have much troubled themselves about. But the way in which I wish people to satisfy themselves upon this subject is, by endeavouring to state their objections. They will find, I think, a confirmation of the opinion which they wish to confute, in the impossibility which they will be under of shewing it to be wrong. At least, it is fair to ask that the accusation should be distinctly stated, before an attempt is made at defence. If Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, myself, &c. should agree upon any question or measure, what is there immoral or wrong in our communicating, and concerting together, upon the best means of carrying it into effect? I might add, though it is not necessary, what is there that should make such an

agreement, upon many points, either impossible or very unlikely? The agreement I am speaking of;—the concert in consequence may from a thousand causes be sufficiently unlikely, and those causes, perhaps, far less creditable to the parties than their union would be."

As the session proceeded, the three parties which had thus accidentally fallen into the same ranks, found opportunities of cementing their strength, and of carrying on conjoint operations, very formidable in their nature to those whom they assailed. A motion made by Mr. Pitt, on the 15th of March 1804, for an enquiry into the state of the navy, had the effect of uniting in its support his own friends with those of the Grenvilles, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Fox;—and though it was negatived by a majority of 71, an opinion began rather generally to prevail that Mr. Addington's administration was not long-lived. In its stead, the country seemed to expect that a ministry would be formed on a broad basis, uniting all the parties then in opposition, and having in its cabinet the two great rival leaders who had for twenty years divided the suffrages of the nation. From such an union, strengthened by such powerful auxiliaries as Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham, the highest advantages were confidently looked for. In a letter which I received from Mr. Windham, dated the 29th of March, after adverting to recent divisions in the house, and to the opinions which were entertained of a change of ministers, he added the following passage: "What the ministry may be that will

come in the place of the present one, it is difficult to say. I shall clearly not be a friend to any that does not fairly try to be a comprehensive one." It appears, therefore, that the decision upon which he afterwards acted, had thus early been resolved upon.

On the 11th of April, upon the third reading of the Irish Militia Bill, another trial of strength took place, in which the numbers of the allied oppositionists approached very near to those of the ministers; being 107 against 128. An allusion to this division, and to its probable consequences, is contained in a letter addressed to this writer by Mr. Windham, from which is taken the following short extract:—

"*Pall Mall, April* 19, 1804.

"THE late division has, I suppose, set the politicians of Norfolk speculating, as well as the politicians here. The opinions of the learned seems to be (I am not one of the learned) that the fate of the ministry is pretty much decided; not of course by the mere effect of that division, but by the causes that led to it. I suppose the fact may be, that, bating the respite which they get by the present state of the King's health, they can hardly hope to stand long. Then will come the question of what is to succeed them; and to this, I am far from professing to be able to give an answer. I think I have a guess, and that guess is not favourable to any arrangement of which I am likely to make part."

The ministers, however, fell only by repeated attacks. On the 23d of April, Mr. Fox moved for a committee to consider of measures for the defence of the country. This motion received the support of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, and of their respective friends, amounting in all to 204 against 256. A division, two days afterwards, on the Irish Militia Bill, proved still less favourable to the ministers, who could count only 240 votes against 203.

By these latter divisions, the fate of Mr. Addington's administration was decided. Mr. Pitt, in submitting a list of names to the royal consideration, not only included that of Mr. Fox, but is said to have earnestly and warmly recommended his admission into the new cabinet. But the attempt proved unsuccessful, and Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham declined in consequence, to take their seats in a cabinet which was not to be formed on the extensive plan of including the heads of all the parties who had been acting together in opposition. Mr. Pitt, however, accepted the premiership, taking with him Lord Melville, and others of his immediate political friends, to whom were joined Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Portland, Lord Eldon, and some other members of the preceding cabinet.

Mr. Windham was now once more the ally of Mr. Fox, and the adversary of Mr. Pitt; — a situation which unjustly exposed him to a charge of inconsistency. Though little inclined to admit that any deliberate act of Mr. Windham's life could require apology, the writer of this narrative may, perhaps, be

allowed to offer some considerations which here naturally suggest themselves, and which, if they are too obvious wholly to have escaped notice, have not before been presented collectively.

Mr. Fox, it will be remembered, besides having been his personal friend and school-fellow, was, from the commencement of his public life to an advanced period of it, his political leader. Mr. Fox, too, was one, who, whatever failings might be imputed to him, had always been described by his sharpest adversaries as "a man made to be loved *;" and who, whatever might be thought of his opinions, certainly could never be charged with having dissembled them. With him, Mr. Windham had deplored the war with our colonies; — with him he had arraigned the principles which placed and maintained Mr. Pitt in office; — and with him, in short, he had generally concurred up to the period of the French Revolution. Out of that event, questions had arisen of such paramount importance, that men who could not view them in the same light, could no longer hold political communion. They were questions at once so novel, that those who before agreed upon every thing might easily differ upon them, and yet so pervading, that those who unhappily differed upon them, could no longer agree upon any thing. Hence, as has been shewn in the course of this narrative, arose the separation of Mr. Windham from Mr. Fox. But there was nothing necessarily eternal in that separation; — nothing that should pro-

* Mr. Burke.

long it beyond the existence of the events which had caused it. On the other hand, his connection with Mr. Pitt sprang from necessity, not from choice. To that eminent statesman he had for many years politically opposed himself; but in the new circumstances of the times, he thought, or rather yielded to the judgment of others who thought, that to enrol himself as a member of Mr. Pitt's cabinet was the only way to render his services useful to the country. This again was not an act to be for ever binding. The French Revolution had caused it; — the anti-revolutionary war had prolonged it; — and with the expiration of that war, it seemed naturally to terminate. Fully as Mr. Windham approved, and to the latest period of his life continued to approve, the war itself, as well as the general tendency of the measures which Mr. Pitt pursued for checking the progress of revolutionary principles, yet the Peace of Amiens served to shew that on many points relating to the object and conduct of the war, their views had been totally different.

At the commencement of the present war, the questions, which for ten years divided the country, had ceased to exist. The French Revolution, in the progress of time, had totally changed its shape. The republic, pretending to have liberty and equality for its basis, was transformed into a military despotism, which acknowledged no law but the sword. France no longer sought to seduce other nations by offers of fraternization: conquest, not alliance, was now her ambition; and to gratify it, fire and sword were to be

carried into every capital of Europe. In this country, there was no time to waste in canvassing former questions, or fighting over past battles. It was too late to enquire how, and at what stage of it, the danger might have been averted; — it had already reached the door, and must be manfully met. On this most pressing of all subjects — the means of defending ourselves — Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox certainly thought precisely alike, while Mr. Pitt differed from them in some important particulars. They were all of them ready indeed, in this hour of alarm, to try the effect of their consolidated efforts; but the union of two of them being unhappily frustrated, Mr. Windham was left to choose his course. Was he to join Mr. Pitt with whom he differed, or Mr. Fox with whom he agreed? Had both Mr. Fox and himself become members of the new cabinet, their opinions on the question of defence might have been adopted; but without Mr. Fox's co-operation, Mr. Windham could hardly have hoped that his advice would prevail, against numbers, and the weight of Mr. Pitt's authority. He had not, indeed, so much at heart the adoption of any favourite measure, as the prevention of plans and systems which he foresaw would impoverish our means of resistance, and which he might better oppose openly in parliament, than he could have done almost singly in the cabinet. This consideration alone might furnish a sufficient motive for the decision he adhered to, but there were other points of agreement between Mr. Fox and himself, which must have had their influence; particularly the opinion they entertained in common,

concerning the relief sought for by the Catholics of Ireland. In such a situation, to use Mr. Windham's words before quoted, "Is the union to be with those with whom, disagreeing formerly, you now agree? Or with those with whom you agreed formerly, but now disagree?" It was in fact a question, not of men, but of measures, as the former one had been in 1794. Those who, looking at either of those periods, can consider the questions to have been merely of Fox against Pitt, or of Whig against Tory, would seem to have no very enlarged notion of the difficulties and dangers which surrounded the country.

But still, it will be said, there were other points, of no light consideration, upon which the agreement of Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham would have been inconsistent and unnatural. This is perfectly true; but they were questions which did not then press for decision; and whenever they might be brought forward, no such agreement upon them was necessary. It should always be recollected, that, though Mr. Windham usually acted with a party, because he thought that his public services were thus rendered more effective, yet he was never what is commonly called a "thorough party-man;"—he never scrupled to leave those with whom he generally sided, when his judgment was at issue with theirs. On the question, for instance, of a Reform of Parliament, it will be remembered that he opposed Mr. Fox at a time when he was considered as a member of that statesman's party. There was nothing in their re-union that should prevent such a difference from recurring, whenever the

occasion might again arise; and, in fact, their subsequent course proved that neither of them considered himself to have formed a compact of so monstrous a nature, as to preclude the free exercise of his judgment on any subject that might be presented to him.

It may be further observed, that whatever praise or blame might attach to the act, Mr. Windham was only entitled to share it with many others. Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Spencer, and all those distinguished persons who, in company with Mr. Burke, had seceded from the Foxites in 1793 (the Duke of Portland alone excepted), were, in every respect as responsible for this new coalition as Mr. Windham himself was. And not these alone; — for Lord Grenville — the near relative of Mr. Pitt — who for almost twenty years had supported and shared in his administration — who had in consequence been uniformly opposed to Mr. Fox — and who had no knowledge of him but as an adversary; — even Lord Grenville considered the circumstances of the times to be such as to require him to relinquish old connexions, and to form new ones, with the sacrifice of power, of office, and still more, of the confidence perhaps of many, if not most of those with whom he had so long acted. In fact, a new order of things had arisen, and men were no longer to be spell-bound by former alliances, but were called upon to pursue that course alone which, in the circumstances of the moment, seemed best calculated to avert the impending danger.

But if the question were to be decided by authority — if a name alone were wanted to sanction the act —

it would be sufficient to observe to those who are most forward in blaming Mr. Windham, that the coalition they condemn was one in which Mr. Pitt himself was ready to join him. Without feeling the ties of former friendship, without even concurring with him on the questions of the day, Mr. Pitt had joined in opposition, and was ready to meet in office his great political rival, who for twenty years had been the soul of a party that had arraigned him and all his measures! No blame is imputed to Mr. Pitt for this seeming inconsistency. On the contrary, it is justly regarded as a splendid instance of magnanimity; and it is only to be regretted that circumstances prevented these two illustrious men from holding out to minor politicians an example highly worthy of their imitation. But this inference at least may be safely drawn — that, on comparing the motives to such an union with Mr. Fox, if Mr. Pitt could be justified for assenting to it, Mr. Windham would have been deeply culpable in rejecting it.

The reader, it is hoped, will pardon this long pause in the narrative. The writer will be satisfied if the worst that shall be said of it, be, that it was unnecessary.

In June 1804, soon after the change of administration, Mr. Pitt brought forward his Additional Force Bill, more generally known afterwards by the name of the "Parish Bill," the recruiting under its provisions being intended to be effected by parish officers. Mr. Windham opposed it in two able speeches, reports of which will be found in the ensuing collection. The bill, however, passed both houses.

In the course of the ensuing session, (21st of February 1805,) he called the attention of the house in a long and luminous speech, to the state of the defence of the country; but on this question the minister was again triumphant. He also took occasion, on the 14th of May following, to pronounce his opinion in favour of the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. This was a topic which he had much at heart. In a letter to his friend, Sir John Cox Hippesley, which has been preserved by that gentleman in a late valuable publication, he has expressed his sentiments on this subject with so much force and perspicuity, that, extensively as it has already been circulated, the reader probably will not be sorry to find it transplanted into the present work. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that the author avails himself of Sir John Hippesley's obliging permission for republishing the letter alluded to, in the Appendix to this narrative *. The value of Mr. Windham's authority on this question has been highly appreciated by the present truly amiable and enlightened Bishop of Norwich, who, in his speech in the House of Lords, on the 18th of June 1811, in favour of the Catholic claims, after observing that the question is not to be considered as a point of theology, which is to be settled by divines or by theorists in their studies, but as a great question of state, to be determined by enlightened practical statesmen, adds that "the judgment of four such men as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, carries far

* See Appendix (D).

more weight with it upon a question like this, than the judgment of both the universities, and indeed all the divines that ever sat in convocation under the dome of St. Paul's, or in the Jerusalem chamber, from the reformation to the present hour."

The remainder of the session of 1805 was chiefly occupied by the proceedings against Lord Melville, in which Mr. Windham took but little part. He concurred indeed in the several votes for enquiry, but declined taking a personal share in it, considering himself disqualified for such a duty by "the official connexion which he had had with Lord Melville, the social intercourse thence arising, and the impression made on his mind by the many amiable and estimable qualities which the Noble Lord was known to possess."

Towards the close of the session, he took occasion to call the attention of Government to the case of the gallant Captain Wright, of the royal navy, the friend of Sir Sydney Smith. This meritorious officer was unjustly suffering a severe imprisonment at Paris, contrary to the rules of war, as observed amongst civilized nations. Some months after this appeal in his favour, he was deprived of his miserable existence. The manner of his death was never correctly ascertained; but from the testimony of a gentleman who was a prisoner with him in the Temple, it appears that he had more than once declared, that, whatever calamities he might be doomed to suffer, he would never so far forget his firmness as a man, and his duty as a christian, as to seek relief in an act of suicide. He

therefore formally cautioned his friends not to credit the reports which he foretold would be given out by the Government of France, in the event of his death. It is certain that he was living a fortnight after his decease had been announced in the newspapers. His existence latterly was only known to his fellow-prisoners by his playing on a flute, which had long been the amusement of his solitary hours.

The expectation of a vacant seat for the University of Oxford, occasioned, in the summer of 1805, an active canvas for Mr. Windham, on the part of his friends, who were naturally desirous that one of the most honourable distinctions which the University could bestow, should be conferred on so celebrated a member of it. The prospect of such a seat was, on every account, highly desirable to Mr. Windham, but the vacancy did not then take place; and when it afterwards occurred, he had engaged himself in a contest for Norfolk. It was about this time that a report was circulated in Norfolk, that, in a letter to Mr. Coke, his early and much-valued friend, with whom he was once more on terms of political agreement, he had renounced some of the opinions which had been entertained by him during the period of his acting with Mr. Pitt. This rumour was mentioned to Mr. Windham by the writer of this narrative, who, in reply, received a letter which may deserve publication, on account of the clear and decisive manner in which the opinions in question are recognized and asserted: —

" *Pall Mall, October* 7, 1805.

" I HAVE requested Mr. Lukin, who leaves town for Norwich to night (and was very near having his offer accepted, of staying till to-morrow and taking me with him) to set you and my friends right on the subject of the reports which you mention, by an assurance that there is not a word of truth in them. It is neither true that any thing to the effect stated was said by me to Mr. Coke, nor that any such alteration of opinions on my part has ever taken place. What are these opinions which they suppose me to have changed? That the French revolution was not a system of liberty, nor much conducive to the happiness of mankind? I should have thought that all the world was now pretty much of that way of thinking. That if not opposed and destroyed, it threatened to over-run the earth? All that we are now suffering, and fearing to suffer, may be pretty good evidence that this opinion was not very erroneous. Is it that I was wrong in thinking that peace would not save us, and in condemning, in consequence, the favourite and dear Peace of Amiens? Whatever may be thought of the renewal of the war, which I perhaps did not think the most judiciously managed, yet nobody surely will say, that our condition was likely to be very good, or the progress of French dominion soon to have stopped, had that peace continued. The same may be remarked of the former war. Who shall pretend to say, that the progress of the French Revolution would have been less rapid, or less dangerous, had Great Britain

never joined in opposing it, or had no opposition been made to it at all? Such an opinion certainly derives no countenance from the facts, which prove incontestably that the French Revolution did not need to be provoked to become mischievous; that the aggressions were not the consequence of the resistance, but the resistance of the aggressions. If the *conduct* of the former war is that which I am supposed now to condemn, the fact may be perfectly true, but it is no proof of change of opinion; as I cannot condemn it now more than I did during the whole time it was carrying on, or than it was at all times condemned by Mr. Burke. It would be very odd if I were to take to changing my opinions now, when those who formerly opposed them, might be supposed to be most convinced of their truth.

"With respect to the letter alluded to, it was written to Mr. Coke, in consequence of hearing of the uncommonly kind exertions which he was making to serve me in my views on Oxford, and was answered by him in a letter of equal kindness. It is very possible that I might have said (for I have no recollection of the particulars) that I lamented the differences which had separated me from those for whom I had so much personal regard, or something to that effect; which some blundering friend (for I am sure Mr. Coke never conceived such an idea) may have construed into a renunciation of my former opinions. But even this must have happened amongst reporters at second hand; for no one, however confused or inaccurate, could have made such a mistake, if he had read the letter.

At least, it is very odd if I should have written in a way to convey an opinion, so little in my thoughts at the time, and so totally contrary to the fact.

" Yours, with great truth,

" W. WINDHAM.*"

Another letter, which I received from him in the course of the same month, refers to the explanation given by the preceding one : —

" *October* 24, 1805.

" MR. LUKIN, if you saw him, will have told you how very near I was accompanying him and the Dean of Wells to the sessions, and I may further add, that even after they were gone, so intent was I on making a visit to Norfolk, that I did not give up the intention, but would, if possible, have followed them. I was prevented by a very disagreeable, but very urgent and insurmountable reason.

" The letter which I sent you at that time, however hastily written (and perhaps not the less so on that account) will have satisfied you that I have not left my friends in the lurch, by renouncing opinions which I had long maintained with them. I have no wish

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* Unnecessary as it may seem to say any thing further on so absurd a report as that which occasioned the above letter, the Editor cannot help adding, that he has been favoured with Mr. Coke's authority for stating that no renunciation of former opinions, either written or verbal, was ever made to him by Mr. Windham.

to dwell upon former differences, with respect to those with whom I am now acting; but our present agreement, and still less the good-will that I may feel towards many of them, implies no abatement of opinion on the points on which we were formerly opposed to each other; at least on our side, though it may reasonably be hoped, without the hope of being invidiously urged, that the same is not the case on theirs.

"The present state of things, and a more formidable one cannot well be conceived, bears good testimony to the truth of all the opinions for which we have formerly contended. Had Louis the Eighteenth been lodged in one of the King's palaces, and received with all the honours due to his rank and situation, and had a system of policy corresponding with that measure been adopted by this country, the King's daughter might not have been at this time under the humiliating necessity of doing the honours of her house and table to Buonaparté."

In the succeeding month, Mr. Windham shared deeply in the feelings of the country on the loss of Lord Nelson, whom he valued as a personal friend, and highly admired as the greatest ornament of his profession. He paid the last honours in person to the remains of this distinguished hero, and when the county of Norfolk proposed to erect a monument to the memory of their illustrious countryman, he subscribed a sum towards the execution of it. The scheme, however, was suffered to drop, from the

difficulty which was found in forming a decision upon the various plans which were offered, and upon the place where the monument should be erected. A simple pillar at Burnham (Lord Nelson's native place) was the plan which Mr. Windham thought the most desirable.

Lord Nelson's death was speedily followed by Mr. Pitt's;—an event which is believed to have been hastened by the calamitous issue of the grand continental confederacy against France. At the opening of the session, on the 21st of January 1806, Mr. Pitt was living, but in a state that afforded no hope of recovery. Mr. Windham's speech on this occasion, and that on the vote for the public funeral of this eminent statesman, having been the subject of much misrepresentation, it is thought right to re-publish them in the ensuing collection; as well as the speech which he afterwards delivered in favour of the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts *. And to shew how desirous he was that the opinions he had expressed with regard to Mr. Pitt should not be misunderstood, it may be equally proper to lay before the reader the following extract of a letter which I received from him:—

"*Pall Mall, January* 22, 1806.

"As one of the happy consequences of our blessed system of printing debates, I am described to-day, in one of the newspapers which I have seen, as having talked a language directly the reverse of that which I

* See Vol. II. pages 316, 319, and 329.

did talk, and which was alone conformable to the sentiments existing in my mind. In none of the papers, as I am told, am I made to express myself in terms so strong as those which I actually used. The history is, that having been forced, by the occupation of our bench by Mr. Bankes, to sit more under the gallery than is desirable, and having spoken moreover in a lower tone than usual, owing perhaps to a little emotion, the reporters in the gallery could only hear what I said very imperfectly, and supplied what was wanting very much according to their own fancy. You may be fully assured that what I said was of a sort perfectly to satisfy every friend of Mr. Pitt; and this I am very anxious should be understood; as nothing could have been so base and ungenerous, and so perfectly adverse to the purpose of my speaking at all, as the saying any thing ungracious of him in the circumstances in which he was supposed to be, and unhappily was. I am sorry to say that all hope of recovery is entirely out of the question, if he should be alive even at this instant. As I expressed myself yesterday, the extinction of such great talents and powers is a very awful and affecting event, even in the minds of those whose lot it may have been to be most constantly opposed to them."

On Mr. Pitt's death, a change of administration was naturally looked for. The views which, in Mr. Windham's mind, rendered such a measure desirable, will appear from a letter which he addressed to me the day after the date of the preceding one: —

"*Pall Mall, January* 23, 1806.

"NOTHING is yet known, or was not half an hour ago, of the course that things are likely to take with respect to the formation of a ministry. I should be much less solicitous on the point than I am, if on this another point did not depend; namely, the having an army. An army is, at this moment, the first concern of the country; not necessary merely for the purpose of war, but equally so for the purpose of peace. That is the best ministry which will best succeed in putting the country in a good state of defence; and if I did not conceive that our ideas upon that subject were better than those likely otherwise to be adopted, and that our measures, whatever they may be, would be better respecting Ireland, I should be quite as well satisfied to remain in our present situation as to change it."

The change which was expected took place in the beginning of the ensuing month, Lord Grenville being commanded by His Majesty to form a new administration. He was himself placed at the head of the treasury, as prime minister. Earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, received respectively the seals of the home, the foreign, and the war and colonial departments *. Earl Fitzwilliam presided at the council,

* Sir George Shee was appointed Mr. Windham's under-secretary of state, acting for the colonial department. The superintendance of the war department was undertaken for several months

Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) at the admiralty; Lord Henry Petty became chancellor of the exchequer; and the remaining seats in the cabinet were filled by Lords Erskine, Sidmouth, Moira, and Ellenborough.

The earliest and chief object of Mr. Windham's attention, on his attaining office, was to arrange and bring forward measures for increasing the military means of the country. The number of plans which were suggested for his consideration, by writers from all quarters and of all descriptions, would scarcely be credited by the reader. Though I believe he did not borrow an idea from any of them, he did not hastily reject them, but gave them generally a fair and patient hearing. His measures having been finally settled in the cabinet, he stated the purport of them to the House of Commons, on the 3d of April 1806, in a speech which Mr. Fox pronounced to be one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament, and which, though it occupied very near four hours in the delivery, seemed not to be thought too long by any of his auditors *. The nature and object of these measures are so fully explained in the speech itself, that it would be superfluous to detail them here at any length. It may be sufficient to observe, that to better the con-

by the late lamented General Robert Craufurd, without emolument. On his departure for South America, Sir James Cockburn was appointed war under-secretary. The Author of this sketch was most kindly invited by Mr. Windham to become his private secretary, which appointment he held during the time that his patron remained in office.

* See Vol. II. page 332.

dition of the soldier was his great and leading principle for increasing the regular force of the country. To hold out periods for the termination of the soldier's services, and to recompense those services by additional rewards, were the means by which he sought to accomplish this improvement; — and the immediate effect which he expected to produce, was, the rendering of the army more inviting as a profession, from its being more advantageous in a prudential view, and consequently more respectable, on account of the better description of persons who might thus be induced to engage in it. The soldier, in short, was to serve an apprenticeship to arms, as to a trade, and then either to follow it up, or to relinquish it, at his option; but was to be entitled to additional benefits, if he should be disposed to continue his services. These were the main objects of his measures, which included, however, many subordinate regulations. The Additional Force Act was to be repealed, in order to remove the impediments which its high bounties opposed to the ordinary recruiting service. By withholding some allowances from the volunteers, he proposed to save a considerable expence to the country, without rendering that establishment less efficient. And lastly, by a general Training Act he expected to employ a great proportion of the population of the country in a manner which he conceived to be more advantageous, as well as much less expensive, than that in which most of the volunteers were employed under the subsisting regulations.

These measures, under the form of various bills, passed through both Houses of Parliament, with considerable majorities. It should not be forgotten that a liberal and *immediate* addition to the pensions of non-commissioned officers and privates, in certain cases, was carefully provided for. Nor was it towards these alone that he directed the bounty of Government to flow. The pay of officers of infantry and militia subalterns, and the pensions of officers' widows received an increase from his hands, though not to the amount to which he was desirous of carrying it, had the resources of the country been thought capable of bearing such an additional burthen of expenditure.

In the summer of 1806, Mr. Fox, whose health had been declining from the time of his accepting office, found a grave near that of his illustrious rival. His loss was deeply lamented by Mr. Windham, whose personal regard for him had perhaps never wholly ceased, but had certainly been fully restored upon their recent political reconciliation. This event, besides the regret which it produced, happened to be the occasion of some embarrassment to him. In consequence of an arrangement which was proposed in the cabinet respecting the appointment to certain offices (but not affecting his own, which was to remain as before), the acceptance of a peerage was very strongly pressed upon him by his colleagues, and very resolutely refused by him. Convenient as the measure might have been to him, with a view to avoid the expence of future elections, (particularly of a contest in Norfolk, where a canvass had actually been begun

for him,) he would not for an instant suffer considerations of this kind to influence his decision. He felt that his usefulness to the country depended not a little on his station in the House of Commons; and he would have chearfully relinquished his office, rather than wear the honours which were to be thrust upon him. In consequence of his refusal, another arrangement was fixed upon: Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox as foreign secretary, and Mr. Thomas Grenville took his seat at the admiralty.

In October 1806, the parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Windham became a candidate for the representation of Norfolk, joining his own interest with the very powerful one which his friend Mr. Coke has so long possessed, and continues to possess, in that county. The Honourable Mr. Wodehouse, the heir of an ancient and highly-respectable family in Norfolk, was their opponent, and had, in fact, begun an active canvass long before Mr. Windham was named as a candidate. After six days polling, Mr. Windham had the satisfaction of being returned by the votes of 3,722 freeholders, having a majority of 365 over Mr. Wodehouse. But the prize that was thus fought for and gained, was snatched away early in the ensuing parliament by a proceeding which had not at all been in the contemplation of the successful candidates, and which owed its origin to an election incident, deserving, perhaps, to be mentioned, as well on account of its singularity, as of its consequences.

During the election; two ladies, possessing some property and influence in the county, made their daily

appearance at the place of the poll, and occasionally joined in processions of voters, in a barouche, which was highly decorated, as well as their persons, and those of their servants, with the ribbons of Mr. Wodehouse's party. At a late period of the poll, some partizans of Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke (with more humour than discretion, as was proved by the event,) contrived a burlesque imitation of exhibition, by persuading two females to stand forth as the representatives of the ladies above noticed, dressed with similar ornaments, and attended by servants who in livery and appearance were the very counterparts of those that had accompanied the other barouche. The project being made known to Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke, they joined in discountenancing it; and having done so, they had no suspicion that the pantomime would be suffered to appear. But the managers, having already provided their actors, dresses, and machinery, were by no means willing to lay the piece aside, licensed or unlicensed; so without further communication, they brought it forth on the Castle Hill at Norwich, in the middle of the day, and within the view of some thousands of spectators. Nothing could have been better executed; the *corps du ballet* performed their parts to admiration; but unluckily, while one half of the lookers-on seemed lost in their enjoyment of the joke, the other half snatched a favourable opportunity for revenge. A strong detachment of the hostile party seized the carriage, hurried it triumphantly down into the Market-place, and there sacrificed it piecemeal to their fury. The poor performers,

male and female, escaped from their dangerous posts as well as they were able, but certainly not shot-free. So well was the imitation executed, that the real footman, like the real Sosia in the play, is said to have received a severe beating from the populace, who mistook him for his counterfeit. The consequences of the joke, however, did not end here; for Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke, innocent of it as they really were, became victims to it. A young gentleman of landed property, the son of one of the ladies who had thus been subjected to mockery, undertook, with feelings which it would be difficult not to excuse, to revenge the insult which had been offered to his mother and her friend; — and with this view, he addressed to the House of Commons, in the names of himself and some of his tenants, a petition against the return of Mr. Coke and Mr. Windham. This petition was grounded chiefly upon alledged offences against the Treating Acts; — there was also indeed a charge of undue influence, which, however, was hardly attempted to be proved. It was certainly true, and was abundantly proved before the Committee, who tried the merits of the case, that a very great expence had been incurred by all parties, and that voters had been entertained, contrary to the letter of the acts, as well on the side of the successful candidates, as on that of Mr. Wodehouse, who of course took no part in the petition. The Committee accordingly declared the election to be void, and Mr. Windham and Mr. Coke became ineligible for Norfolk upon that vacancy. Their friends, however, returned at the new election,

without opposition, Sir Jacob Astley, their former representative, and Mr. Edward Coke, the brother of Mr. Windham's colleague. Mr. Windham having been previously returned not only for Norfolk, but for the borough of New Rowney, now took his seat for the latter place; and Mr. Coke was unanimously chosen for Derby, upon his brother's vacancy. The pecuniary burthen on this occasion, which was by no means inconsiderable, did not fall with proportionate weight on Mr. Windham, who had originally been invited by Mr. Coke and his friends to join in the contest, upon the terms of being responsible for a stipulated sum. To the honour of both, it should be related, that when the expences were found to exceed their calculated amount, Mr. Windham pressed and Mr. Coke refused a further contribution in aid of them.

Some apology may be due to the reader for thus detailing anecdotes of merely local importance, but their connection with Mr. Windham's life seemed to require that they should not be passed over without notice *.

* The reader, especially if he should happen to be a Norfolk man, will pardon me, while I am on election topics, for noticing an accomplishment of a seemingly ludicrous nature, which was much admired in Mr. Windham. The custom of chairing a member at the Norfolk and Norwich elections is not confined merely to *carrying* him in a chair, as at most other places, but he has the additional pleasure (if he thinks it so) of being *tossed up*, as it is there called; — that is, upon a halt made at every thirty or forty yards of his progress, he is thrown up in his chair (which is supported by poles) completely out of the hands of his chairmen, and

Previous to the meeting of Parliament, an expedition for South America, the plan of which had been arranged by Mr. Windham, embarked under the command of Brigadier-General Robert Craufurd. The object of it was, to establish, by conciliatory means if possible, a permanent footing on the western coast of that continent, so as to enable us to turn to greater advantage the possession we had recently obtained of the important post of Buenos Ayres. The troops, consisting of about 5,000 men, proceeded on their voyage with uncommonly favourable prospects, the greatest attention to their health and comfort having been successfully betowed on them by their commanding officer. But the unexpected loss of Buenos Ayres diverted the armament from its course; for, by subsequent orders, General Craufurd was directed to join the troops sent out under the command of General Whitelocke, which were destined to attempt the recovery of our lost ground; an attempt, which contrary to all calculation that could be previously made, proved unsuccessful. From General Craufurd's extensive professional information, Mr. Windham had derived great aid in carrying into execution the measures

caught again, three times successively at each halting. This is a custom which a timid or unpractised person generally thinks "more honoured in the breach than the observance," but Mr. Windham was remarkable for going through this ceremony with such perfect ease and agility, that the exhibition was rendered really graceful and elegant. He was of course the *favourite* of the chairmen, who were not a little proud of the opportunities he afforded them of exhibiting their skill.

for benefiting the army *. On his departure Mr. Windham called in the assistance of his friend Sir James Cockburn, to whom he always professed himself much indebted for forwarding objects over which he continued to take a watchful interest.

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, Mr. Windham found a welcome opportunity of giving full expression to those chivalrous feelings with

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* In this accomplished officer the nation has recently sustained a heavy loss. It may be needless to relate, what must long be in the recollection of every Englishman, that Major-General Robert Craufurd received a mortal wound, while leading on the light division, at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo; and that, by Lord Wellington's directions, he was buried in the breach which he had so gallantly stormed. Presumptuous as it may seem, to add anything to the praises which his commanding officer and his country have bestowed on his memory, the Author of this narrative is unwillingly to omit an opportunity of bearing his personal testimony to the many excellent qualities of this valuable man. He was enthusiastically attached to his profession, to which his life was literally devoted. He had fathomed the depths of military science, and during many years experienc in distant parts of the globe, he had ably applied in practice the principles which he had gleaned from study. In fact, few men of his years had seen so much of actual service, and none was more deeply versed in every branch of that profession to the summit of which he would undoubtedly have risen, had his life been spared. As a writer he was remarkably perspicuous and intelligent; and during the short period of his holding a seat in parliament, he was a frequent and powerful speaker on military subjects. He particularly distinguished himself on one occasion by the clear, able, and comprehensive manner in which he treated of the defence of the country. His glorious but premature death took place on the 24th of January 1812, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

which the successful exertions of British valour never failed to inspire him. In his official capacity, he had to call the attention of the House of Commons to the victory which had been gallantly atchieved on the Plains of Maida, by a small body of troops under the command of Sir John Stuart. As the task was grateful to him, he executed it in a manner which made the most lively impression on his auditors. The event of the Battle of Maida, so glorious in itself, he pronounced to be a sure earnest of future triumphs; and his predictions have been happily verified. The rapid and splendid succession of our victories in Spain and Portugal has now incontestably established the position which Mr. Windham always maintained, that "British disciplined troops possess a decided superiority over those of the enemy*."

It was during Mr. Windham's absence in Norfolk, that Lord Howick called the attention of the House of Commons to a clause which was intended by the ministers to be introduced into the Mutiny Bill, for enabling Roman Catholicks to hold a certain military rank, and permitting to all persons in the army professing that religion the uncontrouled exercise of it. It was afterwards thought expedient that the intended provisions should be made the subject of a separate bill, and be extended to the navy. The misunderstanding which this measure occasioned between His Majesty and his ministers, and the consequent dis-

* A report of this animated speech will be found at the commencement of the third volume.

missal of the latter from their posts, are subjects that need not be minutely treated of. It will be sufficient to relate, that on the 25th of March 1807, when called upon with the other ministers to deliver up his appointments, Mr. Windham received a flattering assurance of the sense which His Majesty graciously entertained of the motives that had guided him in executing the duties of his office.

In the very short period of a year and six weeks, Mr. Windham had done much for the benefit of the army. He had abolished service for life, and substituted service for periods; — he had increased the pay of the subaltern, as well as the ultimate rewards of the private soldier; — and (though circumstances had delayed the execution of it) he had passed a measure for arming and training a great part of the population of the country. Little, indeed, had been done in the way of offensive operations; nor, in the then circumstances of the war, was he at all desirous that his administration should be distinguished by services of that nature. He always professed to dislike a war upon sugar islands. But, had a glorious occasion presented itself, like that which has since arisen in Spain, there can be no doubt that he would have displayed in the conduct of a foreign war, as much ardour and energy as he had shewn in establishing measures for internal defence, and for laying the foundation of an efficient army.

The Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the new administration. Lord Castlereagh, whom Mr. Windham had succeeded in the war and colonial de-

partment, again received the seals of that office; and Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Perceval occupied the other prominent situations in the new cabinet. In two successive divisions, the ministers succeeded in negativing the motions which had been brought forward for censuring the means of their attaining office. Their success, however, was not so decided, as to render the continuance of the parliament adviseable. It was, therefore, dissolved on the 28th April 1807, in its first session, and within five months after it had assembled.

The seat for Norfolk, which Mr. Windham had two months before been deprived of by the decision of a Committee, was occupied, as has been related, by Sir Jacob Astley, who, after much entreaty, had been persuaded to accept it when Mr. Windham became disqualified; and who could not a second time be expected to retire in Mr. Windham's favour. The kindness, however, of Lord Fitzwilliam, always ready to be exerted towards him whenever an occasion called for it, supplied the loss of other opportunities, and Mr. Windham was returned to his sixth parliament as member for the Borough of Higham Ferrers.

In the first debate of the new parliament he made a vigorous stand against the clamour of "no popery," which he complained had been raised against him and his late colleagues *. Soon afterwards he gave his decided opposition to Lord Castlereagh's bill for allowing a proportion of the militia to transfer their

* See Vol. III. p. 21.

services into the line, by enlisting at their option either for periods or for life *. This he considered as a fatal interruption of his measures which parliament had sanctioned in the preceding year. At the conclusion of the session he brought forward, in the shape of propositions, a summary view of the advantages which had already been derived from the system of recruiting for periods †.

The expedition which was sent against Copenhagen, in the summer of 1807, received his decided disapprobation. The following is a letter which he addressed to his nephew Captain Lukin, who was employed in the naval part of that service: —

" *Pall Mall,*

" DEAR WILLIAM, *September 5th*, 1807.

" I HAVE a choice opportunity of writing to you in the return of Mr. Hoppner, from whom I received the latest, and at the same time, the earliest intelligence of you. — Your letter up to the 16th did not reach me till after he had called, and given me an account of you as late as the 23d. I feel very doubtful and very anxious as to the result of your operations, though Hoppner seems to think that the whole will be settled by the time that he returns. If it should, the cause must be, either the want of provisions and water, or that the inhabitants cannot submit to the injury to be done to the town; for the works seem to be such as must, for a considerable time,

* See Vol. III. p. 30. † See Vol. III. p. 68.

enable a force, however weak, to hold out against a strong one. But success itself will bring with it no satisfaction. I cannot feel that the accomplishment of all we look for is an equivalent, either for the risk that will have been run, or for the certain discredit that we shall have incurred, and ill-will that we shall have excited. Buonaparté's designs upon England will not turn upon his having or not the Danish fleet. Our proceedings in the case of Portugal (though such as I never ceased to regret from the moment almost of my having consented to them) were not within a thousand degrees so exceptionable as these; and they ended accordingly in a way which produced neither reproach nor ill-will. Had the worst happened, our conduct could not well have been charged as having any thing in it unjustifiable or irregular.

"Let me recollect, upon this occasion, to obviate an impression which you may have received from circumstances which I heard only by a fortunate accident, in respect to a point where I should be sorry to have my opinion mistaken. ——— told me of his having met you at sea, and having shewn you the machine with which he was provided for blowing up ships. I was sorry to find that from his account of the orders under which he acted, you might have been led into the belief that it was by my directions that the machine in question was put on board his vessel. Quite the contrary;—it was in direct opposition to my opinion. I deprecate such a mode of warfare, as bad in itself, and one by which we should have much more to lose than to gain.

"Farewell. You will let us hear from you at your leisure. When the fleet returns, we will endeavour to join you off Cromer, or at Yarmouth.

"Yours affectionately,

"W. WINDHAM."

The latter part of the autumn, and beginning of the winter of 1807, he passed in Norfolk, in quiet retirement. Being now disengaged from the bustle of office, which he often described as "a perpetual contested election," he once more sought leisure to encourage pursuits in which he had always felt more real enjoyment than he had found as a labourer in the ungrateful soil of politics. A short extract of a letter which I received from him during this recess, may serve to shew how little relish he had for those employments which public men are supposed to regard as their earthly Paradise. It should be observed, that a report appears to have reached him, respecting the probability of a change in the administration: —

"*Felbrigg, December* 12, 1807.

"Mr. ———'s news, which ——— has inclosed to me, I can lay but little stress upon; though he may have grounds for believing it, as such things do sometimes transpire in ways that he may have had access to. Perhaps I am the more hard of belief, from having so little anxiety that the thing should be true. This residence at Felbrigg, though I have not, from circumstances, made it so comfortable as it ought to have been, has still increased my indisposition to pub-

lic exertion; and I shrink from the prospect of returning to parliamentary duty, much more to that of office. I am at times inclined to wish that I had accepted an offer, which you know was pressed upon me, and by means of which I might have better indulged the inclination I now feel for retirement, without wholly losing my hold on public life *.

"As to the lead of a party in the House of Commons, it is a situation which I have no reason to think would ever be offered to me, but which infallibly I would never accept. I took an early opportunity of preventing any difficulty upon that subject, by putting myself out of the question.

"You give me a delicate hint in some of your letters, about the task which I was to perform here †. I am sorry to say that I have as yet done nothing, but I hope soon to get into better ways."

In a subsequent letter to me, his dislike of London and of public business was repeated even in stronger terms: —

"*Felbrigg, January* 6, 1808.

"THE time for returning to town comes now dreadfully near, and finds me, as I am sorry to say is too apt to be the case, very much unprepared for it.

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* The offer of a peerage noticed at page 82. of this narrative.

† The task alluded to was the revision of some of his military speeches, with a view to their publication.

" Unhouselled, unannointed, &c." I have been sinking fast in idleness, and have been worse, in fact, from not having been quite well; — not so much unwell indeed, as annoyed by a course of medicine."

The idleness, however, of which he here complains, is only to be understood as an absence from political employment; for a mind like his, which, besides being rich in its hoards of science and literature, could lay up stores of wisdom from the commonest events of ordinary life, could never, by any figure of speech, be pronounced idle, unless through the modesty of its owner.

In the session of 1808, he took occasion to express the strongest disapprobation of the motives which had occasioned the Expedition against Copenhagen. He also opposed the Local Militia Act; and took an active part in rejecting the Bill for providing for the Maintenance of Curates; which he considered as introducing a dangerous interference with the property of the church *. On a subsequent day, he had an opportunity of resisting what he deemed to be an attack on the accustomed comforts and conveniences of the London public. It had been understood that, for the accommodation of a few individuals, some further encroachments were intended to be made on Hyde Park †, the " lungs of the metropolis" as it had been emphatically called by the late Lord Chatham. The matter was first noticed in the House of Commons

* See Vol. III. p. 96. † Vol. III. p. 109.

by Mr. Windham, and on the next day he supported, in a short but characteristic speech, a motion which was made on the subject by Mr. Creevey. The scheme meeting with this opposition, was not proceeded upon *.

Early in the summer of 1808, the eyes of all Europe were directed towards Spain, where a gallant spirit broke forth, such as few persons perhaps besides Mr. Windham had harboured a hope of. His anticipation of it will be found in a speech occasioned by the capture of Monte-Video, and delivered on the 15th of April 1807, more than a twelvemonth before the commencement of the resistance which he contemplated. From the first notice of this resistance to the latest period of his life, he was a zealous *Spaniard*. He not only took the most lively interest in the proceedings of the patriots, but even promised himself an opportunity of becoming a personal witness of them, by undertaking a voyage to the scene of action. With a view to give facility to this purpose, he actually began and made some progress in the study of the Spanish language. It happened, however, that a rheumatic complaint, for which, after other means had failed, he sought relief from the Bath waters, delayed his project, till the retreat of Sir John Moore, and the disasters with which Spain then seemed nearly overwhelmed, rendered the execution of it no longer desirable or expedient. The intended trip is alluded

* See Vol. III. p. 145.

to in a letter which I received from him before his departure for Bath, and in which his description of his disorder may be thought not uninteresting by those who felt a personal regard for him, especially as it has been thought to have had a share in producing the fatal complaint which occasioned his dissolution: —

" *Pall Mall, October* 21, 1808.

" I AM still here, and still confined to my house, though likely I hope soon to be released. There is nothing indeed that either now or for some time past should prevent my going out, but the fear of disturbing a course of recovery that seems to be going on well, and of which one of the means might be, the avoiding motion and exposure to cold. I have dislodged the complaint from my back, and have no remains but in the leg and thigh on one side; these, however, though inconsiderable, make me walk worse than before, while the medicines I am taking, and the confinement I am enduring, render me, for the time, less well in general health. The fineness of the day has tempted me for the first time to take a turn upon the leads at the back of the house; but I do not find that I make much hand (I should rather perhaps say much *foot*) in walking, while the air has not done me half so much good as I should have found in Hudson's garden.

" —You will come up with a grand stock of health after these long holidays. I must have recourse to

some expedient of the same sort, as soon as I am at liberty; but whether in Spain, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, I do not as yet know.

"Yours, with great truth,

"W. W."

In another letter to me, of the 30th of October, he describes himself to be recovering, but adds, "I have still a remnant of rheumatism near my hip, lying like snow under the hedges, and which, like that, may continue to lie a long while after the general frost has broken up." — He at length sought relief at Bath, where he tried the waters, under the care of Dr. Falconer, who pronounced the complaint to be *Ischias*.

He remained at Bath till the intelligence arrived of the later operations of Sir John Moore's army. It should here be noticed, that, with respect to the assistance which this country was called upon to afford to the Spaniards, his opinion from the first was, that it should be extensive. If any force were to be sent into the interior of Spain, he thought it should be a formidable one, but he doubted whether the operation of large coasting armaments would not prove much more effectual. The sending of a force, in the first instance, to Portugal, he regarded as a measure by no means necessary or desirable, but it having been resorted to, and the expulsion of the French from that country having been effected (though in a manner and upon terms which he considered to be highly unsatisfactory), he then thought that our further exertions should be directed to the coasts of Catalonia and

Biscay; where the armies of the French, though their progress into the Peninsula might not be completely arrested, would at least be so harassed and diminished, that their subsequent operations might be rendered abortive. To use his own words, "it was the neck of the bottle which we ought to stop up." This opinion is referred to in the following extract from a letter which he addressed to me while he was at Bath:—

"*Bath, January* 2, 1809.

"MOORE's purpose of advancing I have heard with great pleasure from Lord Liverpool, who is in the adjoining room. I have lately received some very interesting accounts, both from Spain, and from those who have been there; and the result of them is to teach me great distrust of what we may hear unfavourable to the Spaniards. We are a sad people either to judge of, or to communicate with foreigners; and unless our army can strike some great stroke, which they will hardly do without some great risk, their presence will have done more harm than good. The best of the intelligence is the advance of Moore, after he had heard of the success of the French at Madrid. This success at Madrid, with the character which the inhabitants seem to have manifested, may possibly be to Buonaparté the very reverse of an advantage. It is a point too, on which, from pride and passion, he may be supposed to have committed an error.

"The part in which the greatest error seems chargeable upon our counsels is the eastern coast of

Spain. I have seen officers who were with our squadron in that quarter, and witnessed the conduct of the Spaniards at Gerona. Nothing could exceed the ardour which was shewn by the people, nor the means of resistance which the country afforded. It never can have been right, that no assistance was furnished on that side from Sicily, which it might have been worth while even to abandon, for the sake of what might have been done by that army in Catalonia. You were telling me, when I was in London, of what my opinion had been, respecting operations from hence on the northern coast, and which I had almost forgotten; but I found a confirmation of the fact of my having entertained that opinion, in a letter which I had begun, but left unfinished, to Lord Mulgrave."

Another letter, addressed to his nephew Mr. R. Lukin, may be inserted on account of its reference to this still interesting subject: —

"*Bath, January* 22, 1809.

"DEAR ROBERT,

"I THANK you for your letter and for your enquiries. I am capable enough of going to London, and to the house, or any where else, but I am unwilling to carry away with me a complaint, when I am on the only spot where an easy cure may be hoped for. I begin, however, to be a little impatient. The *Clangor Tubarum* in the House of Commons, as heard through the reports of the newspapers, makes me rather restless and agitated, and uneasy at not being

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in the battle. I am not prepared to go the length of saying that there has been no case in which troops in the interior might be employed with advantage, though I have always seen great inconvenience likely to attend the measure, and have inclined rather to the course of keeping up a continual alarm upon the coast, and assisting the efforts of the inhabitants by occasional and desultory descents. * * * * *.

"Yours, &c.

"W. W."

The retreat of Sir John Moore, with all the respect which he entertained for the memory of that brave and unfortunate man, he never fully approved of; neither the measure itself, nor the mode in which it was conducted; but he gave ample credit to the gallantry which was manifested in the Battle of Corunna. Two other letters which he addressed to me while he was at Bath will serve to shew how deeply he was interested in the passing events of the war: —

"*Bath, January* 23, 1809.

"I SHALL look with anxiety for the chance of a letter from you to-morrow, though with little hope that it will bring any mitigation of the dreadful news which we have received here to day, and which to you perhaps is even yet only on its way. Moore killed, Baird with his arm and part of his shoulder carried away, ninety officers killed and wounded, and a loss of men proportionate to a loss of that amount in officers! Such are the particulars which our in-

telligence contains, and which stands upon authority that leaves but little room to hope that the statement may be much exaggerated. The news is not indeed the worst that could have been received, or that might even have been apprehended; but it is fatal under every view in which it can be considered; particularly if it is to have that further disastrous effect which is ascribed to it, of being the last exhibition which we are to make of ourselves in the Peninsula. Though I felt always most strongly the dangers to which we exposed ourselves by sending an army into the interior; and though it would seem at first view, that we have tried that measure in a way the most exceptionable, yet I cannot concur in the censure of it which has been so broadly laid down, and from which I am happy in having some time ago expressed my dissent. * * * *

"I am, I think, a little better, and am anxious not to be longer absent, though I do not know what it may be in my power to do."

"*Bath, January* 26, 1809.

"I HAVE received your letter to day, and but for the interruption of the post should have had it yesterday. General Hope's letter is felt, I conclude, by everybody to be a very excellent one. I had before been satisfied by the account of officers who had been at Corunna at the time, that the victory was one which Buonaparté could not conceal, and would establish a new proof of the superiority of our troops in any contest in which their qualities could be fairly

tried. This is a great consolation in the midst of all that we have to lament, both in the result of our operations, and in the way of individual loss.

" I know not what to say about my return. My complaint is very little, but I cannot say that it shews much disposition to go away. I shall take a new opinion to-morrow."

The last extract on this subject intended to be laid before the reader is from a letter which he addressed to his nephew Mr. R. Lukin, and in which he more immediately refers to the conduct of our retreat: —

" *Bath, January* 27, 1809.

" WHAT you say of the late operations I think very likely to be well-grounded. I have found by officers whom I have seen here, that there is a good deal of disposition to blame the manner in which the army has been conducted. Some caution must be used in listening to such opinions, on account of the ill-humour that is apt to be excited among persons unsuccessful, and who have been subjected to considerable privations; and further, possibly, because a part of those privations may have been the consequence of great, though necessary, strictness in that respect, on the part of the Commander in Chief. After all allowances, however, I can very well conceive that the game might have been played better. Great glory has, at least, been acquired by us, which Buonaparté will not be able altogether to conceal, and which seems

to have left upon the army a delightful impression of their own superiority."

He returned to town about three weeks after the commencement of the session of 1809. Mr. Wardle had previously preferred his charges in the House of Commons, against the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief, and the evidence in support of them had been proceeded upon. This investigation, which occupied much of the time and attention of the House, having at length been brought to a close, Mr. Windham, on the 14th of March, pronounced his judgment on the question, in a speech which certainly deserves the praise of great moderation, as well as of extraordinary acuteness. He lamented that the charges had been brought forward, and strongly reprobated the manner in which they had been attempted to be supported; but, though he acquitted the Duke of York of any participation or connivance in the disgraceful transactions which had been laid open, and was therefore ready to negative the address which Mr. Wardle had proposed, yet he thought that the suspicions which were felt, and would continue to be felt, by the country, were such as to render it desirable that His Royal Highness should withdraw from office. He, therefore, could not concur in an amendment which was moved by Mr. Perceval, but found himself obliged very reluctantly to adopt a middle course, by voting for an address which had been suggested by Mr. Bankes. This speech, as it did not exactly fall in with the opinions of either party, has

not hitherto perhaps received all the commendation it deserves. The distinctions laid down in it, on the degree of credibility due to certain descriptions of evidence, will be acknowledged, perhaps, on examination, to be not less profound than ingenious. It might be difficult to find in any professional treatise on the doctrine of evidence, such an union of logical accuracy with minute knowledge of mankind, as was on this occasion applied to the subject by Mr. Windham.

In the course of this session, the bill proposed by Mr. Curwen, for preventing the sale of seats in parliament, afforded him an opportunity of discussing at considerable length the general question of Reform, against which his protest had been frequently and forcibly given. This speech, for close observation of human nature, and for vigour of imagination, is not to be excelled by any in the present collection. As it included a full statement of his opinions on this important subject, he was willing that it should be published in the form of a pamphlet, and he added to it, on that occasion, a note in which he strongly animadverted on some transactions, recently laid open, between the persons who had been principally concerned in the proceedings against the Duke of York.

Lord Erskine's Bill for preventing Cruelty to Animals he opposed with equal wit and argument. But though he thought the subject to be wholly unfit for legislation, no person could be more ready at all times than himself, to resent those acts of cruelty with which our public roads and streets are occasionally disgraced. Indeed, when any incident, of whatever

nature, seemed to call for the interference of a by-stander, he was always prompt to step forward to the relief of the injured party, and by a certain alertness and energy he generally effected the purpose of his interposition *.

The summer of 1809 was remarkable for the complete triumph of France over Austria, and for the failure of our expedition to the Scheldt. To shew that both these calamitous events were calculated upon by Mr. Windham, and that his opinion of the object

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* Among the events of this year which were the most painful to Mr. Windham, was the loss of his highly-esteemed friend Dr. Laurence. That very able and excellent man will long be remembered with affection and respect by all who knew him. The vigour of his mind he displayed in the various characters of a wit and a scholar, a civilian and a politician. In the last of these characters, he would perhaps have ranked among the first men of his age, if as a speaker he had not been thought dictatorial and prolix, two qualities which, in the opinion of the majority of the House of Commons, were not to be balanced by knowledge or penetration, however copious or profound. Like his friend and patron Mr. Burke, as Goldsmith whimsically described him,

"Too deep for his hearers, he went on refining,
"And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining."

The harshness with which many members, against their better judgment, were too frequently disposed to treat him, often drew forth from Mr. Windham, who had eminently the ear of the House, a chivalrous defence of his less fortunate friend. In the latter days of Mr. Burke himself, Mr. Windham had been frequently obliged to act the same friendly part on behalf of that illustrious man.

of the latter of them was not at all influenced by its result, it might be sufficient to quote a letter to me written at Beaconsfield, on the 21st July 1809, in which he said, "I tremble for the event of the next Austrian Battle, and am not without my tremors for the fate of the expedition, which, whether successful or not, I am satisfied is a most foolish enterprize." In a subsequent letter, he remarks, in reference to the expedition, that "the grand fault was that which was quite independent of the event; — the sending of the force any where but to Spain." His opinion, however, concerning this question, as well as that of the Austrian campaign, will be collected more in detail from the following letter, addressed to his nephew Captain Lukin, some days before the actual sailing of the expedition: —

"*Beaconsfield,*

"DEAR WILLIAM, *July* 23, 1809.

"I HOLD to my purpose of going to the assizes, and shall accordingly set off for town to-morrow.

"Terrible news this from Germany! — though the learned in London, I understand, (at least those about the offices) do not consider the battle as one of those decisive ones that leave nothing afterwards to be hoped. There is nothing to me in the event that at all comes unexpectedly, however it may be to be lamented. The most discouraging consideration is the dreadful inferiority of talent that appears always to be on the side of the Austrians. Why is Buonaparté to be able to pass the Danube, before the Archduke is

apprized of what he is about? I cannot think that this would have happened the other way.

"Our expedition I conceive to be a most injudicious one, whatever be the event of it. My opinion is, that the whole should have been sent to Spain; so as not to leave Buonaparté, when he has settled the Austrian business, to begin, as he did last year, on the banks of the Ebro; but to have driven the whole of the French force out of the Peninsula. With a view even to a respite from invasion, the total clearance from Spain would have been of more importance than the destruction of all the vessels and arsenals in the Scheldt, should we even accomplish that purpose. If I could have been tempted by any other object, it would have been (with a view to remote and contingent consequences) to undertake the capture of Belleisle, the troops being afterwards to proceed to Spain.

"My cold is better, but one of the poor men who were hurt at the fire is dead, and another of them is, I fear, in a bad way. They went into the house not only after I had left it, but after I was gone home *.

"Yours affectionately,

"W. WINDHAM."

The following extract from a letter to his friend, Mr. A. Hudson of Norwich, is submitted to the reader,

* The allusion here is to the fire at Mr. North's house in Conduit-Street, which, as it was connected with the calamitous event that occasioned Mr. Windham's death, will be noticed more particularly hereafter.

not so much for its reference to the Scheldt expedition as for the manner in which it treats of another popular topick, rendered indeed a political one by the turn which is given to it: —

" *Felbrigg, August* 17, 1809.

" You have rejoiced no doubt in the new proof, contained in the last Gazette, that the supposed superiority of the French arms, so arrogantly assumed and so meanly acquiesced in for some years past, vanishes before British troops. Though the late victory should produce nothing more (as I fear it will not) than a confirmation of this proof, I don't know that it is too dearly purchased. Had our expedition gone to Spain, are there not grounds for believing that we might have driven the French out of the Peninsula? Such an atchievement would have been a great thing, even though it should have been found impossible, after their complete success elsewhere, to prevent them from returning. I hope our troops at Flushing will either succeed or withdraw, before Buonaparté comes to efface the impression of what has hitherto been done, by some signal victory over them.

" A smart contest this between Maddox and Richman! Why are we to boast so much of the *native* valour of our troops, as shewn at Talavera, at Vimeira, and at Maida, yet to discourage all the practices and habits which tend to keep alive the same sentiments and feelings? The sentiments that filled the minds of the three thousand spectators who attended

the two pugilists, were just the same in kind as those which inspired the higher combatants on the occasions before enumerated. It is the circumstances only in which they are displayed, that make the difference.

" He that the world subdued, had been
" But the best wrestler on the green."

There is no sense in the answer always made to this, " Are no men brave but boxers?" Bravery is found in all habits, classes, circumstances, and conditions. But have habits and institutions of one sort no tendency to form it, more than of another? Longevity is found in persons of habits the most opposite; but are not certain habits more favourable to it than others? The courage does not arise from mere boxing, from the mere beating or being beat; — but from the sentiments excited by the contemplation and cultivation of such practices. Will it make no difference in the mass of a people, whether their amusements are all of a pacific, pleasurable, and effeminate nature, or whether they are of a sort that calls forth a continued admiration of prowess and hardihood? But when I get on these topicks, I never know how to stop; so I will send my best respects to Mrs. H. and have done.

" Yours, my dear Sir,
" with great truth,
" W. WINDHAM."

The failure of the Walcheren Expedition was followed by proceedings in the cabinet which led to the

resignation of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. A formal offer was now made by Mr. Perceval, on the part of the ministers, to Lords Grenville and Grey, to receive them, with their friends, as members of the administration. The proposal, however, was rejected, and the answer, as well as the note in which the offer was conveyed, were afterwards made public. In Mr. Windham, who had retired for the summer to Felbrigg, these proceedings did not fail to produce a strong degree of interest; but the result which he hoped for was exactly the reverse of that which might have been expected to be foremost in his wishes. The following extracts from letters which I received from him about this time, will serve to shew that nothing was further from his disposition than that avarice of office which to public men is now indiscriminately imputed: —

" *Felbrigg, September* 16, 1809.

" I HAVE received from several quarters information of the probability of a change in the ministry, which is far from presenting to me a prospect that I can contemplate with any feelings of pleasure. I have not virtue enough to wish the ministers out, at the risk of being one of those who may be called upon to succeed them. While the change was said to be only partial, I felt sufficiently at my ease; but in the way in which my informants suppose it is to take place, an offer to me, of some sort or another, I take it for granted, must be made. It is one of the things that one neither knows how to accept or decline. If I

could always be as well as I am here, — if Downing Street were in Felbrigg Park, or a dozen miles from London, — I should think much less about it; but the being called upon to read and to write, to consider and to decide, when one is exhausted and worn down with one's duty in parliament, has something in it that hardly any advantages or gratifications can repay; and I am afraid my inabilities in point of health or strength are not got the better of, even in the two years that have elapsed since I was last in office. My hope must be, that the intelligence is unfounded, and that the question will not arise; though I have my misgivings; and partly from the progress which I understand is making in the Catholic question, and the alarms which I have heard the ministers have conceived on that account. If it should be found that the measure must be submitted to, it will not be unnatural that an entire new ministry should be called in, composed of men decidedly friendly to it. * * * * *

"A slight hurt which I got here in riding retards my return to town. I am, in the meantime, living a most wholesome life, and in many respects a very pleasant and useful one; — pleasant, as I can recur to pursuits long laid aside, but very ill calculated to prepare me for a return to public life; — and useful, as I am getting things into order, both within doors and without."

"*Felbrigg, September* 20, 1809.

"I say nothing all this while of the intelligence of the day. I lie trembling in my hole, waiting what

shall befall me. The habits of life here are not a good preparation for a return to office, though the health is; — but even that has a little failed in the present instance; for, though I am considerably above my rate of London health, I am, from accident, not quite up to that which residence here ought to have given me."

" *Felbrigg, October* 2, 1809.

" I HAVE had letters, with copies of the correspondence, both from Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. I should think that the ministers will contrive to go on, and I cannot but hope it; for, in the other event, I am sure I don't know what is to be done. I was enumerating, in my answer to Lord Grey, all that I thought could be looked to in that case, and the amount was very limited, and frightfully difficult. * * *

" I feel but little stomach to return to office, unless I can have *carte blanche* as to my military plans; and even then the whole is so *be-devilled*, that there is no restoring things to their original state."

The administration did go on, as Mr. Windham expected and hoped. Mr. Perceval became First Lord of the Treasury upon the death of the Duke of Portland; the Marquis Wellesley succeeded Mr. Canning in the foreign department; and the Earl of Liverpool accepted the seals of the war and colonial office, which had been resigned by Lord Castlereagh.

During one of his frequent visits to Mrs. Burke at Beaconsfield, Mr. Windham wrote a letter to me,

which may be inserted, for the sake of a whimsical but forcible and characteristic comment on an event seemingly in itself of very slight importance.

" *Beaconsfield, December* 18, 1809.

" I HAVE been here for some days, and have just been joined by Mrs. Windham, who left London to-day. We are on our way to Bristol, and must lose no time, as Mr. ———, who is here, insists on my being in London during the second week of next month. I shall come very reluctantly, having during this recess indulged myself so much in other pursuits, and contracted, by one means or another, so strong a dislike to the politics of the times, that I am by no means in a frame of mind favourable for the commencement of a parliamentary session. The air of the country, however, will do something, if not to dispose me more to business, at least to render me more capable of it. One of the events that tend to create a great impatience of all public concerns, is this disgraceful and mischievous triumph of the O. P.'s, and the humiliating submission of the managers. Their conduct is quite unaccountable, unless they have secret information that the juries at the sessions would follow the example of Mr. Clifford's jury; and even then the sacrifice of Brandon is something so scandalous, that no consideration of interest can excuse it. I am the more alive, I suppose, to this defeat of the managers, because I see it as a rehearsal of what is meant for higher performers; the managers being the government; the new prices, the taxes; Brandon,

myself perhaps; and the O. P.'s exactly the same description of persons as at present. There is one difference I hope; — that I shall never come on like poor Brandon with an apology. In all other respects, it seems to me to present but too sure a presage of the fate of the country, contemptible as the thing is in itself."

"Believe me yours,
"very faithfully,
"W. WINDHAM."

This was one of the last letters which I received from him. He returned to town soon after Christmas, and at the commencement of the session of 1810 was at his post. He took an early occasion to express in very strong terms his disapprobation of the object and conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt. The vote for an enquiry upon the subject of that armament, ought, he contended, to be "carried by acclamation;" the British army he described as having been "marched to its grave; — to be extinguished amidst the pestilential air of Walcheren; — to go out like a candle in a vault." But the Battle of Talavera, on the other hand, called from him a warm panegyric, both on the skill of Lord Wellington, and the gallantry of the troops. In this speech, which did honour to his feelings as an Englishman, he dated the military renown of our later days from our atchievements in Egypt; — the Battle of Maida confirmed it; — and those of Vimeira, Corunna, and Talavera, he declared he would not exchange for a "whole archipelago of

sugar-islands." This decided preference of national glory to mere acquisition of wealth or territory, may be considered as the key-stone which supported the whole fabric of his political opinions.

The part which he took on a subsequent question exposed him to much temporary unpopularity. In the prosecution of the enquiry which the House of Commons instituted on the subject of the Scheldt Expedition, Mr. Yorke thought it necessary to move daily the standing order for excluding strangers. This measure was reprobated by Mr. Sheridan, who proposed that the standing order should be referred to a committee of privileges. Mr. Windham, who had always professed to dislike the custom of reporting debates in the newspapers, not only warmly opposed Mr. Sheridan's motion, but used some expressions by which the reporters in the gallery considered themselves to be personally calumniated. Their resentment, as might be expected, broke forth in daily attacks on him in the public prints; and they soon came to a formal agreement that his speeches should no longer be reported. For these marks of vengeance, Mr. Windham had fully prepared himself, and he imputed no blame to those who inflicted them *. To the

* Among many letters which Mr. Windham received from those who considered themselves aggrieved by this attack, there was one which he spoke of with approbation. As it was couched in terms of temperate and respectful expostulation, he answered it in a conciliatory manner; regretting that observations of a general nature should have wounded the feelings of a person whose education and respectable character appeared justly to exempt him from any application of them.

honour of the conductors of the daily press, it should be remembered that a few months afterwards, they buried their resentments in the grave of their illustrious adversary, and joined with the public voice in lamenting the loss of his talents and virtues.

By the temporary exclusion of Mr. Windham's speeches from the newspapers, some valuable ones have been wholly lost, while of others there have been preserved only a few slight and unsatisfactory fragments. Only one, and that a very short one, remains entire, namely, his eulogium on the character and conduct of the Roman Catholics of England. From that body (whose claims, it will be remembered, received his warm support in 1790) he now presented two petitions, praying, in loyal and respectful language, for the removal of the pains and disabilities to which they were liable by law, on account of their religious principles. Mr. Windham's speech on this occasion was preserved by Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn, in a late valuable publication *, and has been obligingly communicated by him to the author of this narrative.

Another speech, which he made in support of Lord Porchester's motion, censuring the expedition against the Scheldt, is represented by those who heard it, to have been one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament. It arrested and fully recompensed the attention of the house for nearly two hours. He was

* "Historical Account of the Laws against the Roman Catholics of England." 8vo. 1809.

urged by some of his friends to prepare it for publication in the form of a pamphlet, but his answer was, that as the subject was temporary, so was the speech, and he felt no anxiety to preserve it. A short and imperfect report of it was given some time afterwards in one of the newspapers *, and will be found in the ensuing collection. On the result of the enquiry, the ministers were successful by a majority of forty votes.

In the proceedings of the House of Commons against Sir Francis Burdett, for a breach of their privileges, Mr. Windham stood forward in maintaining what he conceived to be the rights of Parliament, and concurred in the vote which was finally agreed upon, for committing Sir Francis a prisoner to the Tower. His speech on this occasion is said to have been a highly animated one, but no part of it has been preserved.

The practice of mutilating the printed reports of parliamentary proceedings continued but for little more than two months; after which Mr. Windham's speeches were again suffered to appear, as well as Mr. Tierney's, which had shared in the proscription made by the reporters. On the 1st of May 1810, we find Mr. Windham opposing the second reading of a bill which had been brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly, as part of his plan for reducing the number of capital punishments. This Mr. Windham considered as a measure of dangerous innovation, and in resisting it, he took occasion to avow his belief that the mischievous

* The British Press.

effects of the French Revolution had not yet ceased. That Revolution, he said, had still an existence, — "it was above us, and beneath us; — it was without us and within us; — it was every where round about us." The bill was lost by a majority of two.

He spoke for the last time in the House of Commons, on the 11th of May 1810. The question before the house was, the course which it would be expedient to take in relation to the actions which had been brought against the Speaker and the Serjeant at Arms by Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Windham, as it will be readily conceived, asserted the dignity of Parliament, and the sacredness of its privileges.

A painful narrative remains to be related. The calamitous event which caused Mr. Windham's last illness took place a few months previous to the period down to which the circumstances of his political life have just been carried. It was about midnight on the 8th of July 1809, that in walking home from an evening party, he observed a house in Conduit-Street to be on fire. He hastened to the spot, to render his assistance, and found that the house in flames was so near to that of his friend, the Honourable Frederick North, as to threaten its destruction. Knowing that Mr. North (who was then on a voyage in the Mediterranean) possessed a most valuable library, Mr. Windham determined, with the assistance of some persons belonging to a volunteer corps, whom he selected from the crowd, to make an effort for the preservation of it. After four hours' labour, four-fifths of the books were saved. He did not quit the house

till the flames, which finally consumed it, had spread so extensively as to render his further exertions highly dangerous. During the time that he was employed in this arduous undertaking, it happened most unfortunately, that, by a fall, he received a blow on the hip, but not of so painful a nature as to occasion any relaxation of his efforts. The next day the author of this narrative called on him, and found him complaining, not of the hurt he had received, but of a cold which was the consequence of his exposure to the weather, the night having been very rainy. He seemed to enjoy the whimsical association in the newspapers of "Mr. Windham and the volunteers," but lamented that two of the persons who had assisted him had received considerable injury *. To those unfortunate persons (one of whom afterwards died) he shewed the most kind and unremitting attentions. His cold continued to be very troublesome to him for some time, but from the blow on his hip, he, for many months, appeared to suffer no inconvenience whatever, though it occassioned a tumour which, in the following Spring, had increased to a considerable size.

In May 1810, Mr. Windham found it necessary to give his serious attention to the tumour which had been thus collected. Mr. Cline (whom he had consulted upon it two months before) gave it as his opinion that, in order to prevent dangerous consequences, an immediate operation was necessary; — and his advice

* See in a preceding page, the concluding paragraph of his letter to Captain Lukin, of the 23d July 1809.

was confirmed by that of four out of six eminent surgeons whom Mr. Windham separately consulted. The two who thought that an operation was not required were, Mr. Wilson, the anatomical lecturer, and Mr. Phillips, of Pall-Mall. Dr. Blane (Mr. Windham's own physician) and Dr. Baillie coincided in opinion with the majority of the surgeons, so that, in fact, seven out of nine professional men recommended the operation. It is not at all surprizing, therefore, that Mr. Windham, whose courage was on all occassions remarkable, should have determined on submitting at once to the dangers of the knife, rather than linger on in doubt and apprehension.

Before his decision was acted upon, he took pains to inform himself concerning some cases of persons who had died under operations or from the effects of them; and he requested this writer to make a particular enquiry respecting an instance supposed to be of the latter kind, which had recently occurred in Norfolk. He communicated his intention to very few persons, besides the professional men whom he had consulted; and the deepest anxiety with which he seemed to be impressed, was that of sparing Mrs. Windham the terrors which a knowledge of the event could not fail to excite in a mind of extraordinary sensibility and tenderness. He conveyed her to Beaconsfield, on a visit to her friend Mrs. Burke, with whom he left her, on a plea of business, and arrived in town on Friday the 11th of May. On the following Sunday, he attended at the Charter-house, and received the sacrament, which was administered to him privately by the

Reverend Dr. Fisher, the master of that institution, with whom he had been intimately acquainted from his youth. The remaining days before the operation was to take place he employed in arranging papers, in making a codicil to his will, and in writing many letters, some of which were addressed to his nearest relatives, to be opened in case the event should prove fatal to him. The following letter has been obligingly communicated to the author by Colonel Harvey, of Catton, in Norfolk, to whom Mr. Windham addressed it the day before he underwent the operation. It contains an allusion, as the reader will perceive, to the question of parliamentary reform, which was intended to be brought forward in the House of Commons in the course of a few days.

"*Pall Mall,*

"DEAR SIR, "*May* 16, 1810.

"I WOULD very gladly attend the business which you mention, and with every disposition to find the merits such as you describe, but I am afraid I must to-morrow go through an operation which will disable me from attendance in the house till long after the business in question will be decided, as well as others which, without disparagement to yours, I should have been still more anxious to attend to. If our reformers carry their madness and folly now or in any subsequent year, there is an end, be assured, of the stability of this constitution, and we shall fall from confusion to confusion till we are either sunk into complete revo-

lutionary anarchy, or are settled under Buonaparté. We shall probably enjoy the blessings of both; — and after the taste of the former, namely of republican and revolutionary anarchy, or government as they will call it, there are many who will think even a government like Buonaparté's a blessing.

"These are my first sentiments; — I may also say my last and dying sentiments, for though the operation itself which I am about to submit to, is not a dangerous one, there cannot be so great pain as must I fear be gone through, without some danger. It is, as far as I should collect, something of the same sort as that which poor John Gurney underwent and fell a victim to.

"I had thought at one time to defer it till I might have entered my last protest against such madness, and have tried what I could do to satisfy men's minds that it was madness. But I found so long a delay could not be incurred; so I must only hope the best for the country and for myself.

"Yours, dear Sir,

"with great truth, &c. &c.

"W. WINDHAM *."

* To the above proof of the consistency of Mr. Windham's opinions, at the end of thirty years after they had been formed, on a leading political question, the author expected to be able to add a letter on the subject of the Catholic claims. The letter alluded to was addressed to Edward Jerningham Esq. who acted as Secretary to the English Catholic Committee, and it was finished by Mr. Windham just before the commencement of the operation.

On Thursday, the 17th of May 1810, the operation was performed by Mr. Lynn, in the presence of Dr. Blane, Mr. Home, and Mr. Pilliner, Mr. Windham's apothecary. The tumour was skilfully extracted, but having been very deeply seated, and attached to the ligaments of the hip joint, the operation was necessarily painful. Mr. Windham, however, bore the pain with the greatest resolution; and during a pause, occasioned by a consultation upon the necessity of making a further incision, he even joked with his perilous situation. The tumour proved to be schirrous, of the shape of a turkey's egg, but even larger. The successful performance of the operation was immediately announced to Mr. Windham's intimate friends by Mr. Edmund Byng (Mrs. Windham's nephew), of whose friendly offices he had taken the precaution to avail himself. Mrs. Windham, according to an arrangement which he had previously made, returned to town the next morning, and was informed of what had taken place. For a few days, appearances were not unfavourable, though the wound did not heal with what is called the *first intention*, and though Mr. Windham suffered greatly from restlessness and an irritable state of the nerves. But the hopes even of his most sanguine friends, soon began to give way. A symptomatic fever came on, and upon the ninth day he was pronounced to be in great

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Unluckily it has been mislaid or removed, and all search for it on the part of those who obligingly offered it for insertion in this work has been unavailing.

danger. On the following day the symptoms were judged to be less unfavourable, but others of an alarming kind soon succeeded, and the medical attendants (to whom were now added Dr. Baillie and Sir Henry Halford) no longer entertained hopes of his recovery. From this time, the fever abated, the pulse became firmer and better, and the patient even began to take and enjoy nourishment; yet in spite of these otherwise flattering circumstances, the state of the wound, which had never suppurated, and the total inability of nature to make any effort towards relieving it, were symptoms that excited no feelings but those of despair. Mr. Windham himself considered his case to be hopeless very soon after the performance of the operation, and when, at a later period, the attending surgeon, availing himself of some favourable circumstances, endeavoured to impress him with a less gloomy opinion, he said, "Mr. Lynn, you fight the battle well, but all won't do." He perfectly well knew the feebleness of his own constitution. Though he had possessed great muscular strength, and had lived a life of temperance and activity, he had never overcome the internal debility left by the fever which had attacked him at the age of twenty-eight. The complaint too, affecting his hip, which he had laboured under in the Autumn of 1808, has been supposed to be materially connected with that from which he was now suffering. So slight a contusion as that which he had received, could not have caused such disastrous effects, had it not met with a frame and constitution previously disposed to produce them.

While he lay in this hopeless condition, nothing could exceed the concern which was expressed by almost all classes of the inhabitants of London; nor was this sentiment narrowed by party feelings, for every man who spoke of him seemed to be his friend. From the commencement of his illness, the number of anxious enquirers who had thronged the door to obtain a sight of the daily reports of the physicians, would almost be thought incredible. The watchful solicitude of his professional attendants ought not to pass unnoticed; and in mentioning the unceasing anxiety of personal friends, it would be unpardonable to omit the names of Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Elliot*. The latter was the kind and soothing companion of the sick chamber. It is gratifying to add, that, among those who shared in these feelings, was His Majesty, who took every opportunity of making enquiries of the physicians concerning the progress of Mr. Windham's illness, pronouncing him (as he had done on a former occasion) to be a "real patriot and a truly honest man."

On the 26th of May, notwithstanding his debility, Mr. Windham was able to maintain a long conference with his nephew, Mr. Robert Lukin, during which he expressed himself on many topics with his usual felicity and spirit. Upon this occasion he pointed out to Mr. Lukin his mathematical manuscripts, explained generally the nature and object of them, and ex-

* The Right Honourable William Elliot, M. P. for Peterborough.

pressed his wish that they might be carefully examined, with a view to ascertain whether some parts of them might not be found worth preserving.

On Sunday, the 3d of June, his dissolution appeared to be fast approaching. It was on the evening of that day that the physicians and surgeons assembled in his chamber for the last time. Soon after they had left it, I had an afflicting opportunity of witnessing his dying condition, in which, however, none of the terrors and few even of the milder signs of death were visible. Though his articulation was a little imperfect, his voice was not deficient in strength; and though his countenance was slightly altered, it retained much of its peculiar animation. He was evidently free from pain, and cheered by feelings of tranquil resignation. During about twenty minutes, he spoke many times, not without vivacity, and when I was about to leave the chamber, he pressed my hand with a degree of firmness which seemed at variance with the intimation which he too plainly meant to convey to me—that I should see him no more. It was about half past ten o'clock when I left him, and after that time he is represented as having spoken but little. Being placed by Mr. Lynn, in a favourable situation for sleep, he said, "I thank you, this is the last trouble I shall give you." It is added, that he then fell into a doze, or stupor, and expired without pain or emotion the next morning (Monday, June the 4th) at about twenty-five minutes past eleven *.

* It has been mentioned, as an extraordinary fact, that he had predicted he should die on the King's birth-day. The truth is,

Some apology, perhaps, is necessary for the minuteness with which the above circumstances have been detailed. It may be confidently hoped, however, that those who knew and loved Mr. Windham's character, will not think it uninteresting in the hours of sickness and of death. That he died as every good man and sincere christian might wish to die, is a fact that may furnish grateful and useful reflections to all.

He had just completed the sixtieth year of his age. By his will, which was made some years before his death, and by two codicils which he had recently added to it, he gave to Mrs. Windham, for her life, his whole real estate, including a venerable mansion, with an extensive and finely-situated park at Felbrigg, besides a considerable property in that neighbourhood, and at Sudbury, on the borders of Suffolk and Essex. At Mrs. Windham's decease, he directed that his property, charged with some temporary provisions in favour of other relations, should devolve on Captain William Lukin, of the royal navy, the eldest son of the Dean of Wells, Mr. Windham's half brother. On his accession to the estates, Captain Lukin is to assume the name and arms of Windham; and in failure of his male issue, there is a remainder in tail in favour of

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that on the Friday before his death, he enquired the day of the month, and being told it was the first of June, he said, "Then I shall die on the fourth." It was quite natural that he should be struck with the near approach of so remarkable a day, and the event proved that he measured his remaining strength with great accuracy.

Mr. Windham's early and very intimate friend, G. J. Cholmondeley Esq., with further remainders to the Earl of Egremont and other distant relations. The executors named in the will were, the Honourable H. Legge and William Palmer Esq.

The loss which the country had sustained in Mr. Windham, was impressively noticed in both houses of parliament. On the 6th of June, in the House of Lords, Earl Grey pronounced an eulogium on his deceased friend's character, in a manner which reflected the greatest honour on his feelings. And on the following day, Lord Milton (for whom Mr. Windham had a high regard) distinguished himself in the other house, by an eloquent and affectionate delineation of those public and private virtues which Mr. Windham so eminently possessed, and to which also Mr. Canning bore a generous and powerful testimony *.

His funeral was directed by his will to be private, and without ostentation. Accordingly, his remains were attended into Norfolk by no other friends than Mr. Robert Lukin, his nephew, (Captain Lukin being at sea,) Mr. Edmund Byng, nephew to Mrs. Windham, and Mr. Budd, who was Mr. Windham's solicitor and land agent. They were joined at Norwich by Mr. Hudson and Captain Browne. At that city, where

* A report of these Speeches will be found in the Appendix (E). Mr. Yorke, Mr. Barham, Mr. C. W. Wynne, and other members, availed themselves of other opportunities to express their full concurrence with the general feeling.

the corpse rested for one night, a general feeling of regret was strongly excited, and the procession was accompanied through the streets the next morning by a very numerous train of spectators. On its way to Felbrigg, it was joined by the tenantry (not one of whom was absent) and by other respectable persons in the neighbourhood, on horseback, amounting in all to about ninety. The attendance of these persons, though it did not strictly accord with the directions of the will, could not have been refused without great unkindness. The corpse was at length deposited in the family vault at Felbrigg church, the funeral service being performed by the Reverend George Way. The park was thronged with spectators, anxious to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of one who, though distinguished in the great world by his talents and accomplishments, was better known to his neighbours in the endearing character of a kind landlord and a good man.

OF the Character of Mr. Windham some few memorials will perhaps be looked for, in addition to those which may have been incidentally preserved in the preceding narrative. To describe him truly as he was, is a task however which it is more pleasing to undertake, than easy to atchieve.

In his person he was tall and well proportioned. Having in his youth been eminently skilful in manly exercises, he had thence acquired in his deportment a happy union of strength and ease, of agility and grace.

fulness, which never forsook him. The form of his features was singularly interesting; and the penetrating vivacity of his eye gave a faithful indication of the corresponding qualities of his mind *.

His address and conversation were fascinating to all classes of persons;—as well to the grave as to the gay—to the uninformed as to the learned—to the softer as to the sterner sex. His manners delighted all circles, from the royal drawing-room to the village-green; though in all circles they were still the same. As the polish of his address was not artificial, it was alike pleasing to all. No man had ever less pride, in its offensive sense. He would repel flippancy and

* There are three large prints of Mr. Windham before the public, all of them in mezzotinto. One of them is a head engraved by J. Jones, from a picture painted many years ago by Sir Joshua Reynolds, for Mr. G. Cholmondeley; another, also a head, was engraved by Say, from a painting by Hoppner, in the possession of Lord Mulgrave; and the third is a whole length by Reynolds, from the portrait mentioned in a preceding page to have been painted by Hoppner, for a public hall at Norwich. None of these prints are without merit, but the second (which has been reduced for this work) is thought to convey the most accurate likeness. There is also a fine picture by Mr. Lawrence, from which a very good engraving by Reynolds has been executed, but not yet published. After Mr. Windham's death, Mr. Nollekens had permission to take a mask from his countenance; it was unfortunately made too late to answer the desired purpose, but Mr. Nollekens has finished a spirited bust, chiefly taken from one which he executed many years ago, yet so well corrected from memory as to give a faithful representation of Mr. Windham, as he appeared just before the fatal operation.

arrogance, and would very keenly point his reprobation of what seemed mean or dishonourable; but he never measured his courtesy by the various degrees of rank, of talents, or of wealth, possessed by those to whom he addressed himself.

Of his acquirements it is needless to speak much at length. That he was "a scholar, and a ripe and good one," there are abundant testimonies to prove; nor did his classical attainments, great as they were universally allowed to be, exceed his skill in the various branches of mathematical science. That skill the public, it is hoped, will be enabled to appreciate at some future time, by the publication of the manuscript treatises which are in the hands of his executors. His reading latterly was miscellaneous and desultory; but what he hastily acquired, he accurately retained, and aptly applied in illustration of his opinions and arguments.

His taste, in general, in the fine arts, was eminently pure, delicate, and discriminating. For music indeed he had no relish beyond a simple ballad. I once heard him remark, that the four greatest men whom he had known, derived no pleasure from music. Mr. Burke, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, were the persons whom he thus distinguished.

Upon what is generally called style in writing, he set but little value. His own practice was, to take plain words, in preference to learned ones; to disregard the construction of sentences; and to adopt popular idioms whenever they would aptly express his meaning. In his language he was as truly British as

in his politics. His disgust was strongly excited by modern innovations of French words and phrases; and he disliked them even as terms of art, where English ones could be found to supply their places. For the word *sortie*, for instance, he would uniformly substitute "sally." But nothing so highly offended him, as any careless or irreverent use of the name of the Creator. I remember that on reading a letter addressed to him, in which the words, "My God!" had been made use of on a light occasion, he hastily snatched a pen, and before he would finish the letter, blotted out the misplaced exclamation.

Of Mr. Windham's character as an orator, the reader of this work is furnished with such ample means of judging for himself, that it is wholly unnecessary here to enter into any investigation of it. Something, however, may be said concerning the effect of his eloquence in the House of Commons, and in this respect a very high authority on such a subject * has pronounced that, "if it was not the most commanding that that house had ever heard, it was the most insinuating." His manly figure, and his fluent and graceful delivery, were important points in his favour; but on the other hand, the want of a full and sonorous voice rendered him sometimes difficult to be understood in many parts of the house, particularly in the gallery. This physical defect, added to a parenthetical mode of speaking, and the occasional subtilty of his logical distinctions, may account for the

* Mr. Canning. See his speech in Appendix (E).

very imperfect manner in which his speeches were too commonly reported in the newspapers. The reporters often caught little more from him than those playful allusions and whimsical quotations which diverted the house, but which he really used merely by way of illustration. These, however, were strung together in the newspapers, unaccompanied with the arguments which they were intended to illustrate; — so that a speech thus reported would frequently appear more like a leaf torn out of a jest book, than a logical and profound political discourse, as it probably was when it was delivered. Nothing was more foreign from Mr. Windham's habits, than to jest for the sake of jesting; — his wit was always subservient to his argument.

The reason which has rendered it unnecessary to give an elaborate description of Mr. Windham's eloquence, will equally serve to relieve me from a much weightier task — that of examining his political opinions. I will venture, however, to suggest, that the ruling passion — the clue which, "once found, unravels all the rest," — will be met with in the preference which he gave to the honour and military renown of his country, above every other state of things in which a nation is said to be great and prosperous. To apply this principle to the whole course of his public opinions would involve a discussion much too ample for the limits of this work; — but I cannot avoid remarking, that his notions respecting the common people directly flowed from it. No man could really love the people more than Mr. Windham loved

them; — he did not, it is true, wish them to become statesmen or philosophers; — he desired to see them honest, active, chearful and contented — sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, and capable of defending them. Feeling that

> —— a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied,

he deprecated all attempts which were made to deprive them of their accustomed sports and exercises. From the practice of those exercises, resulted, in his opinion, not only much of the personal bravery of Englishmen, but also that hatred of bloodshed and assassination, and that humane forbearance in victory, by which the British character is happily distinguished from that of many other nations. Nothing roused his indignation more than the vexatious spirit of interference with the holiday-enjoyments of the poor, which he thought some of our magistrates had lately shewn a strong desire to exercise. The suppression of a village-hop, or horse-race, or even a boxing-match or bull-bait, while the magistrate was quietly enjoying his own ball or hunting party, he thought an act of the most scandalous injustice and oppression. In short, he loved the British peasant, and wished to see him vigorous on the green, and independent in his cottage — respected for his loyalty, and formidable by his prowess.

Mr. Windham's political opinions have been often charged with inconsistency. It is not surprising that such a charge should proceed from persons who only look to the distinctions of Whig and Tory, or to those

other distinctions, which, for nearly thirty years, have been sufficiently known and defined under the names of Pittite and Foxite. That he sometimes agreed with Mr. Fox, and sometimes with Mr. Pitt, is with such persons a decisive proof of inconsistency! Those who will go deeper, making measures, not men, their rule for deciding the question, will perhaps find that, during a long political life, hardly any public man has less differed from himself than Mr. Windham has done. From the outset of his career to the close of it, he was the uniform enemy of Parliamentary Reform. In his zeal for the improvement of the army, his attachment to the crown and aristocracy, and his protection of the real comforts of the common people, he will be found to have been equally consistent. That in the course of twenty or thirty years, he found reason to change some few of his opinions, may be very true; but who has not done this, even on subjects of the highest importance? It must be admitted that he altered his mind on the question of the Slave Trade, which he at first thought should be abolished instantaneously, though he afterwards wished the abolition to be subsequent to an attempt for ameliorating the condition of slavery. But instances like this will weigh but little against a mass of facts in the opposite scale.

In speaking of Mr. Windham's public measures, it must not be forgotten that it was on those for the improvement of the army that he relied for his reputation as a minister. He publicly declared that, "like the eminent Italian musician, who had a piece of music inscribed on his tomb, or the Dutch mathema-

tician who had a calculation for his epitaph, he should desire no other monument as a statesman than that system."

The quality, perhaps, by which Mr. Windham was more remarkably distinguished from most other public men, was his intrepidity. His political, like his personal courage, was unbounded; and he seemed to seek, rather than to shun, opportunities of displaying it. Had he condescended to court popularity, there can be no doubt that he would have attained his object; and it might have enabled him to become the leader of a party in the state. That was a situation, however, for which he had neither ambition, nor the necessary arts. He disliked both the management and the sacrifices which, in such an employment, are indispensably requisite.

His habits of business were by no means regular, yet he could never justly be said to be idle. He would have been able to transact more business, had he been less scrupulous. It was his custom to begin a transaction with more care and nicety than could afterwards be found practicable in the conclusion of it.

Notwithstanding his keenness as a debater, no man ever mixed less of private enmity with his public differences. He generally spoke of his adversaries with liberality, and often with kindness. There was no system of opinions which he so strongly condemned as he did Sir Francis Burdett's; yet I remember that he once softened the asperity of some remarks which were made by another person on that Baronet's con-

duct; adding good humouredly, "I suspect, after all, I have a *sneaking kindness* for Sir Francis."

It now remains to speak of his domestic virtues, in doing which it will be difficult to use any other language than that of unqualified eulogium. His tenderness as a husband and relative, his kindness as a friend and patron, his condescending attention to inferiors, his warm sympathy with the unfortunate, are so many themes of praise, which it would be more agreeable than necessary to dwell upon *. The sense which he entertained of the importance of religion, and which he strongly marked by one of the concluding acts of his life, will serve to complete the character of a man who had scarcely an enemy, except on political grounds, and had more personal friends warmly attached to him, than almost any man of the age.

His talents, accomplishments, and virtues, have been happily summed up, by describing him as the true model of an English gentleman; and it has been well observed, that if the country had been required to produce, in a trial of strength with another nation, some individual who was at once eminent for learning, taste, eloquence, wit, courage, and personal accomplishments, the choice must have fallen on Mr. Windham. He was the admirable Crichton of his age and country.

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* As testimonials of the kindness of his nature, two letters of a private sort, one occasioned by the death of a niece, and the other by that of a friend, will be given in the Appendix (F).

All this, it may be said, is the language of panegyric. The writer is aware that it is so, but he cannot feel that it is not also the language of truth. If gratitude for bounties received shall appear to have blinded his judgment, the error he trusts will be forgiven. Yet he will not readily consent to believe that he has been erring, in bestowing praise where those whose authority is every where respected, have thought it was justly due. It would be highly culpable in him to be less forward than others, in yielding his humble and grateful tribute to the memory of one whom he has every motive to revere, and of whom he feels it might be said, as of the Roman General,

> ——— 'twere a concealment
> Worse than a theft, no less than a traducement
> To hide your doings; and to silence that
> Which to the spire and top of praises vouch'd
> Would seem but modest.

APPENDIX.

(A.) Page 7.

Mr. Windham's first public Speech.

(Copied from the Norfolk Chronicle.)

ON Wednesday, January 28, 1778, there was a respectable meeting of Gentlemen at the Maid's Head, Norwich, and the Swan, but not so numerous at either as was expected. As the latter was called with a professed intention to be directed in its measures by the conduct and resolutions that should be pursued at the former, the Gentlemen at the Swan immediately determined to go down to the Maid's Head, where, after Sir John Wodehouse was requested to take the Chair, the business was opened by Lord Townshend, Master of the Ordnance, who set forth, that from the indisposition of the Lord Lieutenant of the county*, and the absence of another Noble Peer, higher in rank than himself, who now filled the most eminent station in another kingdom†, it became incumbent upon him to request a meeting for the purpose of consulting upon the means of affording such assistance as should best enable Government, at this critical juncture, to exert itself for the support of the constitutional authority of the British empire; that the unhappy war in

* Earl of Orford. † Earl of Buckinghamshire.

which we were engaged with America was unavoidably attended with large expence, had been followed with a destruction of men and a waste of force, which was much to be lamented; and that our natural enemies, it was to be apprehended, would avail themselves of our situation, and therefore it was become necessary to be provided with a force that would enable us to resist any attack that might be made upon us at home: he then submitted to the company, whether opening a subscription for the purpose of raising levies to fill up those corps which had been considerably reduced, and might be expected to return from America, would not, as it appeared to him, be the least exceptionable and most beneficial mode. His Lordship was seconded by the Honourable Henry Hobart, brother to the Earl of Buckinghamshire. Upon which Mr. WINDHAM, of Felbrigg, addressed himself to the Chair, premising, that from the personal affection, and hereditary attachment which he bore to the Noble Lord, it gave him concern to differ from him totally, respecting the conduct we should observe on the present momentous and alarming situation of public affairs. He begged leave to take a retrospect of the measures that had led to it; he should not however enter into the wide and beaten field of disputation, concerning the right of the British parliament to tax the Americans, but should confine himself principally to the means that had been used, and the arguments advanced to establish and enforce it. At the commencement of the dispute we were told by administration that the resistance to the act for laying a duty there, was only from the licentiousness of a mob, such as we had frequently known in this country, and might as readily be quelled; that all persons of property acquiesced in our authority, and a military force should no sooner appear, than they would gladly embrace our protection from a lawless and tumultuous rabble: that should the resistance be general, as was pre-

tended, ten, or perhaps two, regiments would bring them to subjection without effusion of blood. One Gentleman asserted that he would undertake to march through the country with 5,000 men unmolested; another, more strongly to express our own importance and their insignificance, said that a grenadier's cap would awe them into obedience. Compare these wild and fallacious declamations, with many other contemptuous and unmerited reproaches cast upon this much injured people; a people, whose affection from their first establishment had been uniformly, and with filial warmth, devoted to your interest, whose spirit had been ever associated, whose courage had been exerted and distinguished, and whose blood had been shed and mingled with your own, in support of the common cause of the Empire; from a monopoly of whose trade you had derived solid, extensive, increasing benefits, and but for despotic and vindictive measures which have been adopted, as permanent as they were beneficial; yet these people, although provoked by reiterated acts of oppression, petitioned and remonstrated in the most respectful and dutiful manner, without exciting any disposition here to preserve their freedom and tranquillity; on the contrary, with inveterate and deliberate malignity on the part of administration, they were pursued, and that spirit of resistance to arbitrary rule was roused in America, which had often been exerted in this country, and to which Great Britain is indebted for its freedom and its fame: since they were driven to take up arms, let us, I say, compare the promises, the assurances of ministers from one year to another with events. When the principal, the whole force of this country that could possibly be spared, had been exerted, 50,000 land forces, 20,000 seamen, more than 100 vessels of different force had been employed in the third campaign, and what has been done, what have we reaped but disappointment, shame and dishonour, such as never before stained

the British name and the British arms? One army of 10,000 disciplined men, under the command of officers of experience, with a well served force of artillery, was in the course of a few weeks absolutely annihilated, and by whom? By the peasantry of the country, hastily assembled, who destroyed an army on which the principal expectation and dependance was placed in the middle of last summer, and which we thought had nothing to do but to drive the rabble before it. I mean not to cast reflections on the conduct of our officers, or the bravery of the private men; after enduring unparalleled hardships and fatigues, they have every where effected all that was in the power of men. Let us next examine what has been accomplished by General Howe; early or rather late in the season, he went out to seek, and he found General Washington, but in such a situation that he deemed it not prudent to attack him; he returned and was obliged to proceed with his troops upon a tedious and perilous voyage; he arrived at the place of destination, and landed without resistance; he marched forward, attacked, and was attacked; he conquered, and after much loss has got possession of an open town, from whence he made another forward movement with intention again to bring the enemy to action, has again returned without effecting his purpose; and has since been obliged, at an enormous expence, to erect redoubts for the security of his own troops against the attempts of the enemy. Such disgraceful and repeated disappointments will not convince us of the impracticability of conquering the Americans: if you could not subjugate them when in a raw undisciplined state, is it not the extreme of folly and madness to expect it now they have a regular established force? I will not contend whether they are as good soldiers as European troops; they are disciplined, they are assisted by foreign officers, they have artillery, and are yet furnished with every means of continuing

the war. After such delusions, after a waste of the most liberal and unrestrained grants from parliament, what are we now called together for? Why! ministry has the effrontery to apply for voluntary contributions, unconstitutional benevolences, and urge their request with an open avowal that this country is in danger of a hostile attack from its natural enemies, who have hitherto availed themselves of these advantages which we have thrown into their hands by our own folly, oppression and cruelty. This, indeed, was obvious, was predicted, was warned against at the beginning of the dispute, but was ridiculed as an idea which only the gloomy brain of patriotism could conceive or cherish. But, Sir, if such really is our condition, why is our security to be rested upon troops raised in the Highlands of Scotland, who are to act in conjunction with those of the very loyal towns of Manchester and Liverpool. For what purpose was the militia established? to what end was an act passed, impowering His Majesty to call it out upon the present emergency? Why is the service of that constitutional body of forces, the natural security of this country, not called for at this time? As a Briton, as an inhabitant of Norfolk, and as bearing a commission in that corps, I feel this indignity; every member of it in the kingdom must feel, and ought to resent it. I would wish to discountenance this and every like attempt of the kind, as having a tendency to protract, instead of bringing to a speedy issue this unnatural, fruitless, and ruinous war, which is now acknowledged by the authors of it to have reduced us to a state of insecurity, to the verge of a precipice. It is not, Sir, that any sum of money which shall be raised here will avail, or even be auxiliary to the purpose avowed, it is not intended, nor expected it should, by the proposers; respecting America it will be innocent, it will be as the small dust of the balance; but the countenance, the weight, the authority of the county of Norfolk is wanted to give a sanction

to measures which we ought to reprobate, and to support men in places who have given the most glaring proofs of incapacity and temerity, and afforded the strongest presumption of being inimical to the constitution of the kingdom, and whose removal will be a considerable step to bring about what every one seems desirous of, and what I am sure we are all interested in, peace and reconciliation with America. I do therefore give my protest against the scheme that has been proposed, as I trust will most Gentlemen of property, judgment and independency.

Mr. Coke, member for the county, declared his concurrence in those sentiments. — Lord Townshend replied, in vindication of the part he had taken; and with an avowal of that sincerity in his conduct which we may presume is universally allowed him, he said, that he was no minister nor acquainted with the secrets of the cabinet, he was only a titular counsellor, but that could he conceive there was a single member of it, who possessed the malignity of heart which had been imputed to them, no man would more readily concur to reprobate and procure his dismission; that he had the honour to have taken an active part in reviving that respectable and constitutional body the militia, and would, upon any requisite occasion, relinquish every other engagement, to act as an officer in that corps, but that the calling the men from their families, from their looms and other occupations, might at this time be attended with consequences injurious to the manufactures and agriculture of the kingdom. He concluded with a handsome and liberal eulogium on the abilities and comprehensive knowledge, the elegant and nervous elocution which the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Windham) had displayed upon this occasion, and candidly assured him he was convinced that he spoke from principle and conviction; His Lordship presaged, that the county of Norfolk would derive advantage and himself

honour from the maturity of judgment and integrity of heart which the Honourable Gentleman had given this signal and early proof of. — Mr. De Grey, a Groom of the Bedchamber, and son to the Lord Chief Justice, replied to that part of Mr. Windham's speech which asserted, that any mode of furnishing the Crown with money not under the controul of parliament was illegal, and contended that neither the letter nor spirit of the 13th of Charles the Second would be violated by the subscription proposed. He was supported by Mr. Charles Townshend, one of the Joint Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, who expressed a concern that national prejudices should yet be cherished, and that whilst it was acknowledged that the Highlanders were engaged in rebellion against the present establishment, it ought also to be remembered that they were employed and distinguished themselves with honour againts the common enemies of this country in the late war. After these altercations, the Gentlemen who did not approve of a subscription withdrew, and those who remained entered their names with the several sums affixed; the dissentients then returned to the Swan, where a protest was agreed to and subscribed, and some other resolutions formed of which an account will be given in a future paper.

(B.) Page 27.

To those of the citizens of Norwich, who are most likely to be affected by an increase in the price of provisions, and to whom a hand-bill, containing what is called "Mr. Windham's Speech, &c." may be supposed to be addressed.

My Good Friends,

Though it is with great reluctance that I offer any remarks on the paper above alluded to, or confess so far the author's powers of mischief, yet the wish of standing well in your opinion, and of vindicating myself against charges, which, if true, I should think very important, induces me to trouble you with a few words. On the author himself I have nothing to observe; about him there can be no difference of opinion. Whatever weight any of you may be inclined to give to the contents of the paper, no one can mistake the purpose or character of the writer, or hesitate to pronounce, that as the means he uses are the most base, the motives by which he is actuated are the most mean and malignant.

The plain object of the paper is to excite against me your resentments, as one who would have increased the present price of provisions by sending out of the kingdom that grain which was wanted for our own necessities*.

My Friends, whatever judgment you may form of my conduct, you shall, at least, not have to complain, that I do not deal openly by you. So far from wishing, as the author of the paper would insinuate, to conceal the part I have taken, I am ready not only to avow my conduct in the fullest ex-

* Wheat was 32s. to 33s. 6d. Rye 13s. to 14s. Barley 11s. to 12s. per comb. Best flour 49s. per sack.

tent, but to assure you, at this instant, and upon mature reflection, there is no part which I do not perfectly approve. What I have either thought, felt, or acted upon the occasion, is this. — I wished, in common, I conceive, with every one else, that the state of provisions in this country might have been such as to allow of our affording some relief to the distresses of our neighbours. I thought (and have not yet changed my opinion) that the state of our provisions was such; and that we might have given the relief asked, without the effect being felt in this country at all. But, at any rate, I thought we should enquire, whether it was so or not; that we may not be deterred by imaginary dangers; and, if we could do nothing else, might at least show to the French, that we had the wish to assist them. For this reason I proposed, that a committee should be appointed to inquire, what change might have taken place since the sitting of the former committee. — Now, my Friends, what do you see in all this that should be deserving of blame? Are any of you so selfish, narrow-minded, or vindictive, so unlike Englishmen, not to say Christians, as to maintain, that, because the French and we are rival, and often hostile nations, that you would not furnish them in their distress with a morsel of bread, even though you should have enough remaining for yourselves? Will you go so far as to say, that you would not assist them unless that were the case: in other words, that if any inconveniences, however small, was to arise from it to yourselves, you would leave them to perish in their distress? If such only is your charity, it cannot be said to be entitled to any high commendations. But supposing you did restrain your bounty within limits so unworthy, would you have been prepared to say, and that too without inquiry, that such a pittance as they asked, namely, less than one day's consumption of this country, could not have been granted without increasing the price of grain to our own poor? I

certainly was not prepared to say so, nor have I yet adopted that opinion; on the contrary, I am quite persuaded, had our ministers* done their duty, and been willing to risk, as all men meaning to do their duty must do, the raising a popular clamour against themselves, for the sake of a great national object, that the quantity asked by the French might have been furnished without any sensible effect in this country whatever. And I think it for ever to be regretted, and may be hereafter felt severely to our cost, that an opportunity has been missed of doing such an act of grace to a great and generous nation, at a moment when they were manifesting the most marked good will to us, and when their minds were in a state to receive the deepest impressions either of kindness or enmity. But these will be said perhaps to be distant considerations: let us look to some that are more more immediate.

You are informed, no doubt, that all France is at this moment in arms; that men's minds are in the most dreadful and alarming ferment; that there is a suspension of all regular Government; and that instances are daily occurring of persons of the first condition sacrificed to the popular fury. In the midst of this, the English, many thousands of whom are distributed over that kingdom, travelled about with perfect safety; being received even with particular marks of cordiality, as persons presumed to be well affected to that cause of liberty for which the French are now contending.

Will any one pretend to say, that a refusal, at such a moment, to assist with the least supply, that part of their distress which arose from want of provisions, might not so have inflamed their minds against this country, as to have endangered the life of every Englishman at that time in

* Mr. Pitt's first administration.

France? Will you yourselves pretend to say, had the circumstances been reversed — had this country been in arms, and in want of provisions, and a small relief, solicited from our neighbours, been refused, for reasons which we had thought frivolous, that Frenchmen travelling through the country would have nothing to apprehend from the effects of popular violence? That they felt deeply the ungraciousness of our conduct, is well known to all who were then in France.

There was a moment, when, from the concurrence of this with other causes, our Ambassador at Paris thought himself in great danger; and had a regard to his safety induced him to withdraw, a massacre of all the English at Paris might very possibly have been the consequence.

But a slight and recent fact will shew our conduct has operated more effectually than any general reasoning: — a servant of a friend of mine, who arrived no longer ago than yesterday, was stopped on his way by some dragoons, and held a long while in parley with a pistol cocked at his breast, on no other ground than 'his being one of that nation who had refused them a morsel of bread at the moment of their extreme need.' They were at last only pacified by being assured that the refusal was the act of individuals, and not approved by the nation at large.

You may judge from hence, whether this pitiful conduct of ours might or might not have produced consequences the most tragical. If such consequences were not produced, let us not argue, that, our fears having been found unnecessary, part of the motive to compliance which I have stated is in consequence done away: but rather say, that the nation that has borne with such moderation what they deemed ill-usage, was, for that very reason, better entitled to be treated well.

These, my Friends, were the principal considerations which induced me to make that motion: and which, I fear, will forbid me to repent of it, even if I should have the misfortune, which I should think a very great one, to have incurred your ill-will by it. The fairness of my motives you will not call in question. I am no corn-factor who am to profit by raising the price of grain; my tenants will not pay me a farthing more, whatever quantity had been sent to the French; I cannot be suspected of a wish to benefit foreigners at the expence of my own countrymen, perhaps of my own constituents, beyond what charity requires from man to man. — I should say, that I could have no private interest in the question, if I did not recollect a pretty strong one, and of which I was fully aware at the time: — an interest not to do what I thought right, from a view of the very event that has now happened, and the possibility that some wretch might be found base enough to make the attempt which we have now seen: but the attempt will, I trust, prove abortive. As you cannot but be satisfied of the integrity of my motives, so I trust to your good sense and generous feelings to enter fully into the force of my reasons. — I will never believe, till I hear it from yourselves, that more can be meant, by any impatience you may feel, than that the interests of our own people were entitled first to be considered; and that in any question between us and them, a small inconvenience on our part might be allowed to outweigh a large one on theirs. But I will never suspect you of an opinion so base, as that an Englisman is not to give relief to a Frenchman; or, that when we have conquered them in the field, we should not be equally ready to dispute the prize with them in the nobler contest of generosity. — I say this, supposing all interest of our own out of the question, but I am persuaded that interest and policy demanded this compliance at our hands, as much as honour

and humanity. — I am persuaded too, that if ministry had not shrunk from their duty, but had conducted the measure as it was in their power to conduct it, the relief required might have been given, and all the good resulting from it been obtained, without any sacrifice on the part of this country at all. I will not detain you longer, however, in the discussion of this subject. I am desirous to transmit to you immediately such an explanation of my conduct as may prevent misconstruction and defeat the malice of those who would rob me of your good opinion; a possession which I shall be ever ambitious to retain, and which I will never, by intentional misconduct, deserve to forfeit. Being, Gentlemen, with the greatest truth and attachment,

Your very obliged and faithful
humble servant,

London, August 5, 1789. W. WINDHAM.

[The above letter appeared in the Norfolk Chronicle of August 8, 1789.]

(C.) Page 31.

Mr. Windham's Speech,

July 2, 1792,

At a County Meeting at Norwich, to address His Majesty on the subject of a Proclamation against Seditious Meetings.

(From the Norfolk Chronicle:)

HE began with apologizing for his troubling the meeting on this occasion, the object of which he conceived would only have required his hearty assent — but when he found Gentlemen wander from the subject, and the purpose of that

meeting, and instead of merely voting an Address of Thanks to His Majesty for the Proclamation, enter into those endless discussions, which the mention of a Parliamentary Reform must bring forward, he thought it proper to make a few observations: First, with respect to the Proclamation; he wished to know if there was any thing new in this; had not Proclamations been issued upon less interesting occasions —he would ask what was there in the Proclamation that warranted this unexpected opposition to the Address? — Did the Proclamation enact any new laws? — Did it suspend any old ones? — It went no further than to caution people from receiving, with eagerness and confidence, opinions which tended to destroy all subordination, and in the end to the subversion of the constitution, and for which an Address of Thanks is to be voted for His Majesty's care and regard to the happiness and safety of his subjects. — Mr. Windham then reverted to the subject of Reform, which, though he confessed was of too great a magnitude for a proper discussion in that place, yet there were certain points, relating personally to himself, which induced him, in some measure, to go into it. It had been pretty generally represented, that he had, in another place, said he would oppose a Parliamentary Reform, in whatever shape it might be brought forward; so far from it, he was a friend to universal Reform. — If Gentlemen, from a constant application of the word, had lost its original and true meaning, he must inform them, that Reform meant to make better, and would that be the case, if all those levelling principles were adopted here, which have been received in a neighbouring kingdom? —Publications of a most inflammatory nature were circulated with the greatest industry among the lower ranks of people — clubs were formed, at which ideas of a most dangerous tendency were instilled into their minds, and delusive prospects were held out, which a Parliamentary Reform it was

told them would realize; but above all, correspondences were carried on between the clubs in this kingdom and those in France, the latter of which, the real friends to, and those who had been the first in bringing the Revolution in that country about, utterly detested. — That it was not a mere assertion, or his own opinion entirely; he would beg leave to mention a man, whose name was not unknown to those associations — a man who might be supposed to have some knowledge in this business, and one who had had no inconsiderable share in bringing that Revolution to its present state. The man he alluded to, was M. la Fayette, who, in a letter to the National Assembly, had reprobated, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the members of the Jacobin Club; men, he writes, who far from having any share in that Government, were working even against the Constitution, as by law established; a faction, M. Fayette insists, that ought, for the safety of the country, to be immediately extirpated; yet these are the men whom our Reformists are known to correspond with, and to whom emissaries are continually sent. What! are we to stand with our arms folded, or are we not acting more like real friends of our country, to oppose at the onset, these dangerous proceedings? But a few years ago, the question put by electors to a candidate for a seat in Parliament, was, are you firmly attached to the principles of our glorious Constitution, as by law established? These very men now will not allow that we have any Constitution at all. He would inform those, who upon all occasions are referring us to the Revolution in France, as a precedent for us to follow, that the Constitution of this country was looked up to by the authors of that Revolution with the highest respect and admiration; and that our superior happiness, prosperity, and consequence among nations to which we were very much inferior in natural advantages, were to be attributed solely to that admirable

form of government, which had not been made in an instant, but for which we are indebted to the united wisdom of our ancestors. Mr. Windham stated, that if men, as he might be, were willing to suffer some little inconveniences for the cause of liberty, yet that country (France) not only suffered inconvenience, but great misery from one end of the kingdom to the other. They who think otherwise, are completely ignorant of the whole matter.

Mr. Windham then remarked on the presumptuous folly of those men, who, from their avocations in life, had not opportunities of deep research, and who of course must have but a very superficial knowledge of what such changes might produce, coming forward with confidence and boldness in matters which those who might be supposed more acquainted with them, from their continual application and attention to them, never entered upon or attempted to undertake without the utmost fear and trembling. [Here Mr. Windham, to evince the force of his own reasoning, quoted from an author, of whom he supposed it would be no small recommendation to these gentlemen to find he was an opponent of Mr. Burke.] He compared our Constitution to a comfortable house, which had descended from father to son for ages, and which had always been found perfectly convenient to the families that had inhabited it; it came to pass, however, that when the present owner had one day been describing with pleasure and satisfaction, the enjoyment of his situation to some of his neighbours, they told him, with the utmost seriousness, that there were many evident defects in it, and advised him to make some alterations — the good man was thunderstruck at their assertions, and more so upon asking them what good was to be obtained by the change; they freely confessed they could not immediately point that out, only it certainly should be altered, and with his leave they would undertake to do it. The

owner upon this began to make enquiries about the professional skill of these men; for, says he, I am perfectly happy in my present state, and even should they make improvements (which I by no means see likely), myself and family must be put to the greatest inconveniences while those are making, and heaven knows, if they may not bring my now comfortable dwelling about my ears. He also made another allusion in his speech respecting the lengths men would go, so far as words were concerned; he compared those men, who would leave nothing unattempted that their pens and tongues could effect, while it did not encroach on their personal interests, to a man at a horse-race, who being rather short-sighted, and somewhat interested in the determination of the match, insisted, with the utmost vehemence and obstinacy, that his favourite horse came in first. They have at those places, says Mr. Windham, a very summary method of settling these matters, which is no more than proposing a bet; this was immediately done, and five guineas to one was offered; the effect this had was wonderful, for this man who had a prospect of winning the sum, and who before would have risqued his eternal salvation on his opinion, would not now hazard a single guinea. Mr. Windham trusted, that as he gave Gentlemen credit for the disinterestedness of their sentiments, they would in return do him the justice to believe he acted upon the same principle. — If men really preferred a republican government, and were honest in their sentiments, he by no means blamed them. He could live in perfect charity with such men, and grant them toleration in all its latitude, and that was more, he feared, than some of his late friends were now ready to grant him.—That interest was not the object that induced him to take the side of the question he had done, he begged leave, in a few words, to make apparent; that he was acting diametrically opposite to his own interest, many of those Gentlemen (to whom he

must confess himself under obligations, and to differ from whom gave him infinite concern,) had very pointedly explained to him; but that concern was greatly alleviated, when the difference that subsisted between them, would, upon investigation, be found very minute indeed, for though they did not agree on subordinate points, their general principles were still the same. He did not see how Gentlemen could argue that a Parliamentary Reform would injure his interest in Norwich, if the right of election was more popular, unless they thought that the contest would be more expensive. He said he was returned for no borough, and had no borough to dispose of; therefore, on those grounds, he did not oppose reform. Mr. Windham concluded his speech, with the utmost animation, in nearly the following words:—That the honour and satisfaction in being chosen a representative of Norwich, was indeed most intimately connected with his happiness; but he should think himself unworthy that situation, in which their kindness had placed him, should he act contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, which had led him to give his opinion sincerely and openly upon this important subject.

(D.) Page 70.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable W. Windham, to Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart. previous to the debate on the Catholic Question, 1808.

"THE short argument is, that in this, as in other cases, you must chuse between opposite dangers; and that the danger to be apprehended from leaving the Catholics of Ireland in their present state, is greater than any that can be

supposed to arise, in whatever length of time, out of the increase of their present privileges. If the Church be necessary to the State (as it is), the State must be acknowledged to be equally necessary to the Church; and what is to become of the Church of England, should England itself be lost? or how shall England be maintained, if the French should set a permanent footing in Ireland? The condition of Ireland is, for the greater part of its population, that of a sort of semi-barbarism; which not only keeps that country in a depressed state, deprived, for the greater part, of those advantages, which nature seems to have intended for it; but renders it, in the present circumstances of the world, a source of continued and imminent danger to us. This depressed and disordered state seems to have been altogether produced, by the system of laws and government adopted originally, perhaps necessarily, but since continued unnecessarily. With respect to the Catholics; without converting them, the only operation of these laws has been to brutalize and barbarize them, rendering them at the same time our enemies. Of these laws, the greater part have, during the present reign, been repealed; and, upon the same principle, as also with a view to convey to the Catholics the real and practical benefit of what has already been done for them, it would be right, in my opinion, to repeal the remainder. The danger of such repeal, even at any period the most distant, I cannot persuade myself to be any at all. If the Church of England is ever to be overturned, or undermined, it will not be by the Catholics, but by sects of a far different description, or by persons of no religion whatever."

(E.) Page 130.

IN the House of Lords, on the 6th of June 1810, in a debate on the Question for referring to a Committee of the whole house the Petitions of the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

Earl GREY, in maintaining the necessity of extending relief to the Catholics, drew a picture of the perils with which the Empire was surrounded by the progress of the enemy in every quarter. Such dangers, he observed, threatened from without. Was there nothing to appal from a view of our internal situation? When every thing that was visible was of an alarming nature, it was no inconsiderable aggravation of the evil to see the great men which had been snatched from their country by the hand of death, at the moment when her perils stood most in need of their commanding talents. Within the last four years they had lost two great statesmen, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, to whom, above all others, he could safely affirm, the different political descriptions in the country looked up for that wisdom in council and energy in execution, so necessary in any pressing emergency of public affairs. To these was now added the third loss, the subject of their present lamentations. It was unnecessary to say that he alluded to the late Mr. Windham. It was his misfortune at different times to differ from that distinguished and regretted character, yet in the heat of political disagreement, he never ceased to admire his many and splendid virtues. — He was a man of a great, original, and commanding genius — with a mind cultivated with the richest stores of intellectual wealth, and a fancy winged to the highest flights of a most captivating imagery; of sound and spotless integrity (hear! hear!), with a warm spirit, but a generous heart (hear! hear!), and of a courage and deter-

mination so characteristic, as to hold him forward as the strong example of what the old English heart could effect or endure. He was such a man, that his adversary, if there was any man worthy to be his adversary, must respect him. He had, indeed, his faults, but they served like the skilful disposition of shade in works of art, to make the impression of his virtues more striking, and gave additional grandeur to the great outline of his character.

IN the House of Commons, on the 7th of June 1810, Lord MILTON rose, and in a tone which the strength of his feelings frequently rendered inaudible, spoke to the following effect: — In moving, Sir, for a new writ for Higham Ferrers I feel it to be my duty to speak of that illustrious man whose death has occasioned the present motion. It would have been better if the performance of that duty had devolved upon some more competent person; at the same time, I must say, that connected, as I had the honour to be, with that illustrious man, my heart would have upbraided me if I had seen any person whatever more eager to do that justice than myself. I decline to take that course, for which are some examples, with regard to other distinguished individuals, in consequence of the last strict injunctions of my deceased friend; and in the observations which I mean to submit to you, I do not wish to allude to any particular part of his public conduct, lest such allusion should tend to create the slightest difference of opinion among those who are willing to do honour to his memory. When I speak of his great talents and unsullied integrity, I feel confident that no difference can arise, either among those who agreed or those who disagreed with him. All persons admit the splendour of his genius, the extent of his ability, the value and

the variety of his mental acquirements; all who have had any opportunity of witnessing the display of his vigorous, his instructive, his rich and polished eloquence, will, I am persuaded, concur with me in the opinion, that his death has caused a great, and perhaps, an irreparable vacancy in this house. But in addition to all the qualities of genius, information and integrity, which confessedly belonged to my lamented friend, there was one character which attached to him in a most eminent degree — (Here the Noble Lord was quite oppressed by his emotion, and there was a loud and general cry of hear, hear, hear!) — I believe, resumed the Noble Lord, that it will ever remain in the memory of this house, that among the most interesting peculiarities which distinguished my friend, was an undaunted intrepidity under all circumstances, such indeed as rarely falls to the lot of man, and a manly promptitude to speak his mind upon all occasions. He was the man of whom more than another it might well be said —

> Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solidâ.

He was the man who was never to be moved from his purpose, or relaxed in his exertion by any considerations, either of fear or of favour — no, never was he to be warped from the honest dictates of his own mind. This quality, always so valuable, and which, on all occasions, conferred such peculiar importance upon his sentiments, renders his loss at present an aggravated national calamity. For never, perhaps, was it more necessary that public men should not shrink from their duties, but act firmly and consistently with the dictates of an honest and unbiassed opinion. While I dilate upon the merits of my deceased friend, it is my wish

to abstain from any thing like exaggeration. It was very rarely his lot to obtain what is usually termed popularity. But, if it be true, as it has often been remarked, that rarely high character and popularity are to be found joined together, his fate furnished an impressive illustration of that remark. There may be persons ready to follow the inclination of what is called popularity respecting my friend. But although he may not have the favour of such persons, sure I am, that in no part of his conduct did he ever want the sanction of an approving conscience — that in no instance whatever was he without that highest of human gratifications. No, his honourable mind was ever conscious that if it did not enjoy, at least it deserved the good opinion of the country. — That he actually had the good opinion of all those who are capable of truly appreciating character, I have not the slightest doubt. Among all those who attach any value to real public virtue and talent, I am firmly persuaded that no man ever stood higher. If he had faults and indiscretions, which of us are without them? but his faults and indiscretions were not of any ordinary cast, for they sprung from no ordinary source. They were not the effect of any deficiency of understanding or lowness of view — no, but of that high-minded generosity which was his peculiar characteristic. His disinterestedness was wholly unquestionable. Never did he appear to regard in the slightest degree in what manner his public conduct might affect himself — how it might impair his character or his circumstances. Influenced alone by what he conceived to be right, he steadily pursued it without any dread of consequences. Whether his ideas of right or wrong were generally correct, or whether results generally justified those ideas, certain I am that I anticipate the concurrence of those who closely observed him, that the feelings and the motives I have described, were the uniform guides of his conduct. — At an early period of his life, he

had attached himself to another great man (Mr. Burke), whose loss the country has already deplored. He imbibed from that great character those opinions which he invariably pursued; and though, at one time, it might be said, that he became exceedingly alarmed at what some might regard as improvements, but what others might consider as innovations, it proceeded from a reverential awe for the true principles of the constitution. — The Noble Lord then expressed that it had been his wish to avoid any thing which could tend to excite controversy and to confine himself to those points, upon which controversy was impossible. It was his wish to say something on those parts of his character which others might not have had opportunities of observing, but he felt himself unequal to the task. Perhaps it was unnecessary that he should do so. The house knew his public character; and certain he was, that among his friends and foes there was but one opinion — that in his death they had sustained a loss which perhaps the youngest among them might not live to see repaired. Having thus unburdened his own mind on the occasion, he believed he had no more to say. Had he not so expressed himself, his conduct might have been justly considered more extraordinary. He lamented what he had said had been so inelegantly spoken, but he was not able sufficiently to master his feelings to express himself as he could wish. He concluded by moving, "That the Speaker do issue his writ for a burgess to serve in parliament for the borough of Higham Ferrers, in the room of the Right Honourable William Windham, deceased."

Mr. CANNING, though he had been long in the habit of opposing the public conduct of the illustrious character now no more, rose to bear his testimony to those talents and virtues which had distinguished Mr. Windham's splendid

career. He felt equally with the Noble Lord, the impossibility of doing justice to talents so exalted, to virtues so rare. Among all the storms and all the contests which had raged in his time, whatever might have been the frenzy of the moment, he above all had avoided the appearance and the reality of soliciting popular approbation. But if his conduct had not made him the object of transient popularity, it had secured him what was of greater value, lasting and unperishable admiration. At no time could so great a character pay the last debt of nature, without leaving a chasm much to be deplored, and difficult to fill up; but never was there a period at which his loss could be more sensibly felt than at the present. Throughout his life, from a sincere sense of public duty, he had exposed himself to every threatening evil, in what he conceived to be the cause of his country. — He had left them a proof that conduct so upright, if not calculated to gain the applause of a party, was certain of conciliating universal esteem. It had often been his (Mr. Canning's) fate, during the time he had been his contemporary, to oppose his public conduct. This he had frequently done, thinking he (Mr. Windham) carried the best principles to an excess, but never once had he suspected his motives to be dishonourable. — There was a selfishness of which it was difficult for a public man to divest himself — the selfish pleasure of pleasing those with whom they were in the habit of acting; but superior still, even of this most amiable of all selfish feelings had Mr. Windham been acquitted, both by his political friends and opponents. When he recollected the accomplishments by which that great character had been graced — when he considered the extent of his knowledge, and the force of his eloquence, which, if not the most commanding they had ever heard, was the most insinuating — which, if it did not convince, delighted all who heard it, made them feel with the man while speak-

ing, and enter into his heart, he could not but feel somewhat reconciled to that which had been called "a blot in our constitution." He alluded to the boroughs, of which so many complaints had been made. He did not say, that if none such already existed in the constitution, he would create them, but among the necessary imperfections of our system, he thought it must be admitted that they had turned to a good account. — The Noble Lord had concluded his speech by moving that a new writ be issued for the borough of Higham Ferrers — that was one of those boroughs held up as defects in the parliamentary representation of that house. He begged the house would recollect that when, from a loss of popularity, that Right Honourable Gentleman was deprived of a seat for his native county, that house had been indebted for the services and the splendid talents of Mr. Windham to the borough of Higham Ferrers.

(F.) Page 139.

The following letter, referred to in the foregoing narrative, was addressed by Mr. Windham to his nephew Captain Lukin, on the death of Mrs. Foy, the niece of the former and sister of the latter.

"*Pall Mall, May* 31, 1800.

"SAD, sad news, my dear William, I have to send you, not of a public, but of a private nature, and such as will try your spirits, and afflict your kind heart, more than any thing that has yet befallen you. Your poor sister Mary — never will you see her more! — never more will she welcome

your return, rejoice in your success, and gladden the hearts of us all by her gay and amiable manners, and by her kind and virtuous affections! After a long and bad labour, which ended in the death of the child, and after fostering our hopes for some days by an appearance of doing well, she failed all at once, and has left us nothing but to lament the breach thus made in the happiness of the family, to follow her with our regrets, and to console ourselves with the reflection, that she has escaped at least from all the ills of life, and partakes of all the hopes which Revelation holds out to those who do not renounce them by the wickedness of their lives, and by the abdication of all desire and endeavour to recommend themselves to the Divine mercy.

"Your brothers George and Robert, who are in town, and have heard from me, and in part by a letter from Foy, this dreadful news, are preparing to go to your mother at Bath, where she has at least had the consolation of attending Mary in her last moments. Your father, who, upon the strength of the good accounts which we had received, went down to Rochford, will learn the account from me to-day; and will fortunately be in the situation where he can be most useful in concerting with Mr. Wright, how he shall break the news to Kitty, and how he shall best console her under the affliction, which I fear will not fail to shock her very much. Mrs. Windham and I intend to set out to-morrow morning to join your mother at Bath. There is fortunately an adjournment of parliament, which will enable me to go without difficulty; and Mrs. W. as you will imagine is clearly on the side of our going. What a different visit from what it would have been, had poor Mary been there! What a loss to the future happiness of Felbrigg!

"I must not pursue these reflections, nor encourage you to pursue them too much, lest they should relax your ardour in the active service in which you may soon be employed. I

almost tremble now at what I have been endeavouring to secure to you relative to the object about which Lord Spencer has written, at my request, to Lord St. Vincent. I could at this moment almost be glad if the application should fail; but we must go our course, and leave the event to Providence.

" God bless you, my dear William. You will give some tears to poor Mary, as I do; but you must wipe them away, and preserve only an affectionate and tender remembrance of her. *That* she deserved from you, and from all connected with her. Mrs. W., if she knew of my writing, would I am sure desire her most cordial and kind remembrances. Let us hear from you whenever you can write. Your mother will be very anxious to hear, as well as yours ever,

" my dear William,

" most affectionately,

" W. WINDHAM."

The letter which follows was written by Mr. Windham on the death of a most worthy and excellent friend. It is addressed to the son of the deceased person.

" *Pall Mall,*

" MY DEAR SIR, *April* 27, 1807.

" HOWEVER strange it is that I should have delayed till now to say any thing upon the subject of your late irreparable loss, you will never have doubted for a moment of the manner in which it must have been felt both by Mrs. Windham and myself. Never were people more truly sensible of the loss of any one, than we have been of that of your excellent father, whether considered with respect to Mrs. H— and you, and the rest of your family, or with respect to ourselves. Of his virtues it is needless to speak. Full justice will, I am persuaded, have been done to them by the

universal regret of all who personally knew him, or were acquainted with him only by character or reputation. I may say with confidence that I never knew a man of a purer mind, of sounder principles, of more amiable dispositions, or of a more manly cast of character. His value to me could not be less than in full proportion to these opinions. Besides the effect of intimate knowledge, and habits of personal intercourse, the sense of all these virtues was doubly impressed on me by long continued acts of service and kindness, and by a steady and indulgent friendship which he had the goodness to feel for me during a course of years, unvarying in any fortune, and which, I am persuaded, never would have varied, had our lives been severally prolonged to ever so late a period.

"Such friends it is impossible to replace, and whether, therefore, we consider this loss as respecting ourselves, or in relation to those still more deeply affected by it, and not less dear to us, it throws a gloom over all our prospects, and particularly those connected with Norfolk, which we cannot expect that any time should entirely overcome. We shall never return into Norfolk without recalling scenes that used to await us there; without combining the thought of what we used to meet, with the reflection that we are to meet it no more. I wish the same occasions may not prove to you in like manner a renewal of impressions which time by its natural and intended operation must be continually wearing away, and which, at all events, must be made to give place to those numerous duties which you will now more than ever be called upon to discharge, as well as to those enjoyments, many of them connected with these very duties, which I trust life has in store for you.

"To Mrs. H—— such return to serenity and composure, or at least to cheerfulness, may be slower and more difficult; — though similar cares and duties, and enjoyments

derived from the happiness of those around her, must have the effect by degrees of turning her mind from the memory of what she has lost to the contemplation of what still remains to her. Mrs. Windham and I regretted not a little the absence of Miss H——, as well on her account, if indeed on that account it was to be regretted, as from the consolation and aid which she might have afforded to Mrs. H——. Her own situation, left to herself, was in fact truly pitiable, though free from every sentiment of self-reproach, which people on such occasions are so apt to conceive, as having been absent by any want of prudence or foresight, or by any act which she could attribute to herself.

"Most deeply are we interested in the welfare of all that remains of the family, and have heard, therefore, with no small satisfaction, what I hope is a true representation of the present and probable future situation of your affairs. Mrs. Windham has forborne to write to Mrs. H—— knowing that such a letter could convey nothing but what Mrs. H—— would feel already assured of, and depending upon my writing to you which she supposes me, indeed, to have done long since. I have been, in like manner, little anxious about writing, from a full conviction that you would never doubt for a moment how I felt upon this occasion, either with respect to your father, whom I loved and valued beyond most men I ever knew, or with respect to those whom he loved and valued; yourself, my dear Sir, in the first instance, whom I have always considered as the genuine representative of your father's virtues. Every sentiment of affection and attachment which the merits, as well as kindness, of each individual of your family claim so strongly from Mrs. Windham and myself, must be enhanced by the memory of what we felt for your father, and of what he proved so amply that he had the goodness to feel for us.

"With my mind full of such a subject, I cannot bring myself to touch on any other, and therefore can only request

you to receive and convey to Mrs. H—— and all your family, the assurance of our most affectionate regards, and to believe me to be, dear Sir,

"Your sincere and unalterable friend,

"W. WINDHAM."

The Writer of the foregoing Narrative is happy to avail himself of the permission which has been obligingly given to him by J. COURTENAY, Esq. (a gentleman with whom Mr. Windham maintained a long and valued friendship) to lay before the Reader the following

CONGRATULATORY ODE,

ADDRESSED TO

WILLIAM WINDHAM, ESQ.

OF FELBRIGG, NORFOLK,

ON HIS RECOVERY FROM A DANGEROUS FIT OF ILLNESS,

1778.

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus,
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis —— HOR. Lib. 1. Ode 26.

I.

TO WINDHAM tune no venal lyre,
His name shall every note inspire,
And dignify my lays;
Again, he'll lead fair Freedom's* train,
Who, charm'd by his enlivening strain,
Will join in heartfelt praise.

---

* Mr. Windham had very lately distinguished himself by a spirited and eloquent speech, against an Address proposed at Nor-

II.

Again, he'll shine in bloom of youth,
Endu'd with genius, science, truth;
Fitted for Virtue's shrine:
Let the same skill † our WINDHAM save,
That snatch'd a GLO'STER ‡ from the grave;
I'll sing its power divine.

III.

When anxious fears the mind deprest,
No festive mirth could touch the breast;
Slow mov'd the languid hours;
Of thee, my Friend, alone we speak,
While sorrow dims each pallid cheek,
And on each visage low'rs.

IV.

For you, the timid, blushing Maid,
With tend'rest wishes, fervent pray'd;
Love every accent wings:
But now she tunes her grateful voice,
And bids the vocal lyre rejoice,
While rapture wakes the strings.

---

wich, in support of the American War. He set off the night before from Mr. Sheridan's house, and just arrrived in time to attend the Meeting.

† For an account of the illness from which Mr. Windham had recovered, see page 10 of the preceding Narrative. ED.

‡ His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who had lately been attended by Dr. Jebb.

V.

Again, in social circles gay,
Unrivall'd talents you'll display,
While brilliant fancy glows;
And language, splendid and refin'd,
O'er your luxuriant, vivid mind
A double lustre throws.

VI.

O! born to bless the common weal;
To emulate a KEPPEL's zeal,
In naval annals bright;
When each indignant sailor rav'd,
And Victory's signals vainly wav'd,
To call the recreant Knight.

VII.

Oft have I seen thy spirit rise,
Oft mark'd the lightning of thine eyes,
Along th' embattl'd line;
Ardent, proud Freedom's sword to wield,
To lead her offspring to the field,
And like a HAMPDEN shine.

VIII.

Again, we'll turn the classic page,
Where Greece defies a Tyrant's rage,
And soars above controul;
Then Liberty her sons could charm,
Nerve every gallant Chieftain's arm,
And fire his gen'rous soul.

IX.

TOWNSHEND, with quick sensations blest,
Will snatch you to a Soldier's breast,
By sacred ties ally'd;
Who priz'd and lov'd thy noble Sire;
To all his fame sees thee aspire,
And feels a father's pride.

X.

Already see the Patriot Band,
By hope elated, press your hand,
And mutual welcomes blend;
From BURKE the tear of joy will start,
While SAVILLE * clasps you to his heart,
And CA'NDISH † hails his friend!

XI.

When Britain shall revere your name,
And plausive Senates spread your fame,
Unbought by paltry art;
Still o'er your voice will truth preside,
And bold, indignant, manly pride
Sway your intrepid heart.

XII.

While long debates protract the night,
Marking Time's yawning, tedious flight,
In every languid eye;
Your wit the dullness shall illume,
As flames electric chase the gloom
That clouds a somb'rous sky.

* The late Sir George Saville. † Lord John Cavendish.

To the above Ode may be added some Lines, which were written by the Lady of JOHN BROWNE, Esq. of Hethersett in Norfolk, a faithful and much-esteemed friend of the subject of the preceding Memoirs.

On taking leave of MR. WINDHAM, *October* 5, 1798.

WINDHAM, farewell! Britannia's pride and boast,
Statesmen like Thee are in themselves a host.
— Go to thy Noble Friends, firm in the cause,
Still guard our Throne, our Altars, and our Laws.
WINDHAM, farewell! and may that awful power,
Who smil'd on Britain in the darkest hour,
And bade her rise sole Empress of the Main,
Howes, Vincents, Duncans, Nelsons, in her train;
Thy generous virtues still inspire and guard,
And give thy patriot cares their due reward.
Thine eye's keen light'ning still may treason fear,
And impious faction shrink when Thou art near.
Oft may thy Beech's venerable shade,
(By Autumn's richest tints now lovelier made)
View Thee from public cares awhile retire,
To taste the bliss domestic scenes inspire;
Where elegance and taste, friendship and love,
Judgment and wit, the social hours improve.
As erst Rome's genius view'd the laurel shade,
Where Pliny with his lov'd Calphurnia stray'd,
Such transports in Britannia's bosom glow,
Since what Laurentium *was*, is Felbrigg *now*.

SPEECHES

SPEECHES

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM WINDHAM.

WESTMINSTER SCRUTINY,

February 9, 1785.*

MR. WELBORE ELLIS, after adverting to the examination of the High Bailiff and his Assessors, which had taken place at the Bar of the House on the preceding day, moved the following resolution, viz. "*That Thomas Corbett Esq., High Bailiff for*

* The Administration at this period consisted of the following persons:

Right Honourable W. Pitt - - First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Marquis of Caermarthen - - Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Sydney - - - - - Do. for the Home Department.
Earl Camden - - - - - Lord President.
Earl Gower - - - - - Lord Privy Seal.

" the City of Westminster, having received a precept from the " Sheriffs of Middlesex for electing two citizens to serve in Par- " liament for the said city, and having taken and finally closed " the Poll, on the 17th day of May last, being the day next before " the day of the return of the said Writ, be now directed forth- " with to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pur- " suance of it."

Lord Mulgrave moved, as an Amendment, to leave out all but the word that, and then to insert, " The Speaker do acquaint the " High Bailiff, first, that he is not precluded by the resolution " of this House, communicated to him on the 8th of June last, " from making a return, whenever he shall be satisfied in his " own judgment that he can so do. And secondly, That this " House is not satisfied that the scrutiny has been proceeded in as " expeditiously as it might have been. That it is his duty to " adopt and enforce such just and reasonable regulations as shall " appear to him most likely to prevent unnecessary delay in future; " that he is not precluded from so doing by want of consent in " either party, and that he may be assured of the support of this " House in the discharge of his duty."

Lord North and Mr. Sheridan spoke in favour of the original motion; Mr. Pitt supported the Amendment.

Viscount Howe - - - - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Thurlow - - - - -	Lord Chancellor.

The above persons formed the Cabinet.

Duke of Richmond - - -	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Mr. Dundas (late Lord Melville)	Treasurer of the Navy.
Mr. W. (now Lord) Grenville Lord Mulgrave - -	Paymasters-General.
Sir George Yonge - - - -	Secretary at War.
Mr. Arden (late Lord Alvanley)	Attorney-General.
Mr. (now Sir A.) Macdonald -	Solicitor-General.

Mr. WINDHAM contended, that the argument urged in favour of the High Bailiff, that he ought not to make a return till he had completely satisfied his conscience, and made up his mind, went too far, and as it was stated, it was fallacious. The writ undoubtedly directed the High Bailiff to proceed to an election of two members, and if his conscience was not satisfied on or before the day on which the writ was returnable, there was a clear path for him to pursue, in which he would have been countenanced by all men. He had then to return to the Sheriff all the candidates, giving as a reason for such return, that his conscience was not satisfied, and then the matter would have come fairly before the tribunal, competent to try its merits. It was not true that the High Bailiff was forced to return two members on the exigency of the writ. A double return was allowed by that house, in cases where the returning officer was not satisfied in his conscience. A complete and correct return was not demanded. — If it were, and if that house should countenance, by its decree, the new doctrine, that the return must not be made till the conscience of the returning officer was fully satisfied, that house might in future be deficient of half its members. He observed, that though it was seemingly the object of the minister and his friends to relieve the High Bailiff from as much care and trouble as possible, yet the very direct consequence of the scrutiny, and of the instructions proposed to be given this night to him, would actually raise new difficulties and increase his

embarrassments. He had been directed, in the first instance, to take some time to consider and examine the poll, that he might, by private inquiries satisfy his conscience, and then make his return; but the house having ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny, imposed a new task upon him; and though, before the scrutiny had been approved of by the house, the Bailiff might have made his return when he had satisfied his conscience, yet the scrutiny having been once commenced, he must not satisfy his conscience only, but also his judgment; so that as he could not satisfy his judgment without scrutinizing the poll, whilst there remained a vote unscrutinized, he could not make his return; it was clear, therefore, that the house itself, in seeming to promote expedition, had actually thrown additional obstacles in the way, and created unnecessary delay; for though it would have been sufficient for the Bailiff to have satisfied his conscience at the outset, he must now satisfy both his conscience and his judgment. — An expression had dropped from the minister which he thought very alarming indeed; it contained a doctrine likely to be the prolific parent of numberless inconveniences and mischiefs. It seemed, according to the Right Honourable Gentleman, that the circumstance of there being bad votes on the poll of a candidate, was a good ground for the scrutiny; if this was the case, there was not an election for any county or populous city in the kingdom which ought not to be the subject of a scrutiny, for he was sure there was not an election

for any such places, during which persons had not been permitted on both sides to poll, without any legal qualification for the exercise of such a franchise. At Norwich, where he had had the honour to be elected, he was very sure many bad votes had been given both to him and to the rival candidate; and if the number of such voters, admitted to poll at Norwich, was less than the number of the like voters who had polled in Westminster, it was because the gross number of the inhabitants were less in the former than in the latter. But there was another expression which alarmed him still more; and that was, "That it mattered not on which side the bad votes had been polled, if bad votes had been received." This was a good ground for demanding a scrutiny; this was an alarming doctrine indeed; for if it was once received as sound and parliamentary, the legal representatives of every populous town in England might be kept out of parliament for years together, by the most infamous combination between a minister and profligate tools in the shape of candidates, who having contrived to get some bad votes on the poll even for themselves, might then demand a scrutiny, which might be carried on for years, though a decided majority of legal votes should be on the side of the candidate against whom a scrutiny should have been granted. For these different reasons, he declared his intention to withstand the introduction of such fatal doctrines; to resist the amendment moved by the Noble Lord, and support, with his vote, the

original motion made by the Right Honourable Gentleman. [This was Mr. Windham's first speech.]

Mr. Fox supported and Mr. Dundas opposed the original motion; after which the house divided, when the numbers were,

For the resolution - -	135
Against it - - -	174
Majority -	39

The Amendment was then put and carried; upon which the High Bailiff was called to the Bar, and the resolution was read to him by the Speaker.

REGENCY.

December 19, 1788.

THE Report of a Committee appointed to consider of the State of the Nation was brought up, and the first Resolution, which was as follows, was agreed to unanimously:

"1. *That it is the opinion of this Committee, that His Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his Parliament, and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the Royal Authority is thereby interrupted.*"

The second Resolution was then read, as follows:

"2. *That it is the right and duty of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority, arising from His Majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may seem to require.*"

On the question being put for passing this second Resolution, it was objected to by Sir Grey Cooper, and supported by Mr. Martin, who took an opportunity of censuring the conduct which Mr. Fox and the Opposition had observed in the course of the proceedings during the King's illness. The Attorney-General argued in favour of the Resolution.

MR. WINDHAM declared, that if an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Martin) had not considered what he

had said, as of high consequence in his own opinion; he surely would not have come forward with assertions altogether unfounded, and for which he had assigned no reason. He knew not whether there was any mystery to be derived from what the Honourable Gentleman had advanced, since superstition assigned to animals of no great estimation the power of revealing secrets. Macbeth told us, that the greatest perils had been discovered by the screaming of magpies and choughs. As an individual member of the body of men, whom the Honourable Gentleman had lashed and censured, Mr. Windham protested, that he trembled to stand in the Honourable Gentleman's presence. Thus much, however, he would venture to pronounce, that, in point of rank, of family, of fortune, of splendid talents, of known character, and tried abilities, there were not in the kingdom their superiors. The Honourable Gentleman, therefore, must suppose some peculiar consequence to be annexed to his opinion, or the house never would have heard the body of men, he had been describing, humbled as they had been by the Honourable Gentleman; but as he would not on that or any other occasion follow the Honourable Gentleman's example, he would quit all mention of his Right Honourable Friend, who had been so peculiarly distinguished, as to have been made the special subject of a debate, and not only of a debate, but of a resolution of that house. Having thus alluded to the adjournment of the house the preceding day, on account of Mr. Fox's illness, Mr. Windham proceeded to deliver his opinion on the topics stated

and maintained on different sides of that house. He remarked, that he concurred with the doctrine of his Right Honourable Friend in its fullest extent; that he had intended to have delivered his opinion upon it to the committee, but had been so much exhausted, that he was obliged to forego his intention; that he was then glad he had done so; for he had been able since, more maturely to consider the subject; and he was, by reflection, confirmed in his opinion. The true jet of the argument was to be drawn not from written law, not from precedent, but it depended upon the plain broad ground of analogy; analogy too clear to be mistaken, and too forcible to be resisted. Not to consider the right of the Prince of Wales to the Regency, as an hereditary right, was to go the length of maintaining that the two houses of parliament had a power of disposing of the constitution. He rather judged the goodness of a precedent by its consequence, and what the effects of that consequence might be, than by the precedent itself. According to the doctrine laid down, a foreigner might justly observe, that whenever there was occasion for a Regent, the two houses of parliament stepped in, and gave away the country. With respect to the various arguments that had been advanced, as to what the law was, concerning the case in point, he should not hesitate to declare, that, in his opinion, one of the surest ways of determining what was the law, was, by determining what ought to be the law. He adverted to the supposed motives of the minister, and said that they well knew what he was working at the bottom, but men

were not looking at the consideration they ought to look to, but were making it a personal question. They had been told properly enough, that they should not consider the virtues of the great personage, who had the strongest preferable claim to the Regency, as any argument; and yet, if the virtues of His Majesty (which all must readily agree) were holden out as reasons for limiting the powers of the Regent, they ought to take in the virtues of the other personage as the security for His Majesty's returning to the Government: but it was thought that the custody of the King's prerogative was more secure in the hands of parliament, that in those of the heir apparent. Mr. Windham took notice, that in one of the last Regencies, the latter of those in Henry the Sixth, the Duke of York was made Regent, because he was presumptive heir to the Crown, and thence he argued, that the Prince of Wales, being heir apparent, had a better plea, and the public had a better security for his taking due care of the interests of the kingdom, as no other person was so much interested in its prosperity. He reprobated the project proposed in the third resolution, and declared, that his mind revolted at the idea of a coarse fiction, for so it was, let what would be said of it. He protested, that for one, he did not place great reliance on the reasoning of lawyers upon such subjects. Gentlemen of that profession were not always the best writers on constitutional questions; their professional knowledge perverted their opinions on such topics, because, when they were under discussion, from their legal knowledge, they were always flying to legal ana-

logies. Mr. Windham said, he did not like those maxims which could not be comprehended, nor did he admire precedents drawn from times of such tumult and confusion, as those that distinguished the period from the appointment of the Duke of York to the Regency in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Sixth. The fatal consequences which followed, were, in his opinion, a sufficient condemnation of the precedent.

An Amendment was afterwards moved by Mr. Dempster, to leave out the words "in such manner as the exigency of the case "may seem to require," and to insert, "by humbly addressing "His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Heir Apparent "of the Crown, being of full age, to take charge of the administration of the civil and military government of this kingdom, "during the continuance of His Majesty's illness, and no longer." This Amendment was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and withdrawn, when the second Resolution passed without a division.

The consideration of the third Resolution, declaring that Parliament should determine on the means for giving the Royal assent to such Bill as might be passed respecting the exercise of the authorities of the Crown during the King's indisposition, was postponed to a subsequent day, when Mr. Dempster's Amendment was again proposed and negatived, the numbers being 251 against 178. The third Resolution was then passed.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

March 4, 1790.

MR. FLOOD moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of the People in Parliament. The motion being seconded by Mr. Grigby,

MR. WINDHAM addressed the Chair in the following speech:

SIR,

IT will be unnecessary for me to reply to the arguments of the Right Honourable Gentleman very much in detail, since, as the question has been so often debated in this house, they are arguments which every Gentleman who has heard them will be able to refute. But I cannot help observing, that there is a preliminary question which the Right Honourable Gentleman seems wholly to have forgotten, and which ought to have been answered before his motion should even have been received by the house. I mean, that he has forgotten to shew that any necessity exists for adopting his proposition; he has not proved enough to encourage us to go on with him a single step. He ought first to have made out his grievance, and then

to have proposed his remedy. When the house is put in possession of both, it will be the time to judge how far the first is ascertained, and the second proportionate; and to decide whether the remedy ought to be adopted or not. But the Right Honourable Gentleman has only asserted, that the representation is inadequate, without any attempt whatever to *prove* that fact. As a substitute for argument, he has contented himself with a triumphant appeal to the people; and this I have always observed to be the practice of those who have brought this question before the house. On my part, I am ready to resort to the same appeal, and to ask whether the House of Commons, constituted as it is, be not answerable to all the purposes that can be required of it; and whether the people do not live under it happy and free, and do not even enjoy all the luxuries of life which they can possibly desire. It is whimsical to say that a constitution, which has lasted so long, and which experience has taught us to value and revere, ought now to be departed from, in order that we may adopt theoretical and new-fangled schemes, such as are now proposed to us. Let us, in opposition to such assertions and doctrines, look to the blessings we are enjoying;—let us judge of the tree by its fruits, and apply to the British Constitution a homely adage, which is not the less apposite for being coarse;—that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." The experience of all ages has demonstrated, that this house is adequate to all that is necessary, and that with no better a system of representation, the country has been prosperous and

flourishing, the people have been comfortable and safe. Every proposition of reformation or innovation is good or bad according to the circumstances of the case; and this is a case in which I cannot help thinking that we have every thing to lose and nothing to gain. The project comes before the house under the appearance of liberty, as all innovations do, which are likely to destroy that very liberty they profess to preserve. The liberty of this country requires no speculative security, nor can it be better secured than by the means by which it has so long continued.

Sir, the Right Honourable Gentleman has quoted the case of the Middlesex Election, and has laid great stress on the fact of the minority having in that case been allowed to triumph over the majority. The fact, indeed, was so, and were it so in other cases, were such even the general rule of election, and the affairs of the house were to go on as well as they have done, I should not be disposed to quarrel with such a rule, merely because I might be unable exactly to see how such a result could follow from it. I should content myself with the result itself; and to those who, like the Right Honourable Gentleman, might be disposed to cavil with it, I would say, in the words of Hamlet,

> "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> "Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

As to the American War, the Right Honourable Gentleman, in his reference to that subject, has come

somewhat near to the point to which I wish to bring him; — I mean, to matter of fact. But I deny that the continuance of that war was owing to the inadequacy of the representation. On the contrary, it was the wish of the people that that war should be begun, nor was any strong indication of an opposite feeling manifested, till towards the conclusion of it. It is true, indeed, that a Right Honourable Friend of mine (Mr. Fox) opposed the war, and that the Electors of Westminster continued him, and very properly continued him, as their representative. But it is also true, that another Right Honourable Friend of mine (Mr. Burke) acted the same wise and honourable part, and what was the consequence? Why, that he lost his seat for Bristol. He was expressly turned out, at a popular election, for opposing the continuance of the war, and had to resort for a seat to one of those boroughs which are now proposed to be disfranchised. Towards the close of the war, a loud clamour was raised for a Reform of Parliament, as a remedy for the evils, and losses, and expences, to which the people had been exposed; though I am afraid that those very people originally engaged in the war with no better motive than that of saving their own pockets by taxing those of the Americans.

Sir, it was at the period of which I am now speaking, that a deluge of wild opinions was let loose upon us. The emancipation of America served to swell the flood. But I have been flattering myself that it had long since subsided. I hoped that the cry had been dead, but it turns out only to have slept. And truly

sorry am I to observe, that swarms of these strange impracticable notions have lately been wafted over to us from the Continent, to prey like locusts on the fairest flowers of our soil; — to destroy the boasted beauty and verdure of our Constitution. It is in conformity with these notions that we are called upon to new-model our establishments, which have for ages withstood innovation. Yet the people at large, it is obvious, have no such wish. If they have, why do they not declare it? What is the political malady, what the grievance that is now complained of? What evil has overtaken us, in consequence of this inadequate representation of the people? Experience has proved that the British Constitution contains somewhere and somehow within itself, a principle of self-recovery and self-preservation, which brings it back, amidst all the deviations to which it is exposed, to its natural and salutary state. *Quod petis hic est.* There is no occasion for an infusion of new blood, which, instead of being salutary, might prove fatal.

But, Sir, were I even disposed to approve of the Right Honourable Gentleman's notions of reform, I should still feel it my duty to object in the strongest manner to the time in which he has thought proper to bring them forward. What, would he recommend you to repair your house in the hurricane season? The Right Honourable Gentleman, indeed, professes only to wish to open the door for a change, being perfectly indifferent himself as to what that change might be. Now a change may be good in the abstract, but merely for the sake of a change, I can never consent

to pull down the fabric, and take the chance of building it up again. This, to use the language of play, (though I am myself no gamester,) would not be *playing upon velvet*, a little only might be gained, and every thing might be lost. As to a love of change generally, this passion is natural to all ages and countries; but men are not more fond of innovation, than they are apt to differ as to the particular schemes of reform that are to be carried into execution. It is not enough to say, that a majority of the people are friendly to reform in general, unless some particular mode of reformation be also agreed upon. But even were this the case, and were any scheme of Parliamentary Reform generally approved of, I should still think it my duty to oppose the dangerous and progressive spirit of innovation; — I must still enter my protest against the strange mixture of metaphysics with politics, which we are witnessing in the neighbouring country, where it would seem as if the ideal world were about to overrun the real. In that country speculatists and theorists are now *frontibus adversis pugnantia*. Let us, in good time, avoid the infection.

Sir, it is my firm opinion that there is no grievance existing in this country which we cannot correct, without calling in the advice of a theorist. While the people are enjoying the highest degree of freedom and felicity, why should we try to persuade them that they are all the time in misery and slavery? While we are feeling the blessings of peace and plenty, why should a thought come into our heads that we are unwell, and must have recourse to medicine? This is

like the story in the Spectator, of a man in good health, who had read medical books till he fancied that he had every symptom of the gout upon him, *except pain*. Let me entreat the house not to fall into the state of this imaginary valetudinarian. Let us not fancy that our Constitution stands in need of the specifics which are offered to us, trifling and harmless as they are represented to be. Once received, they may, like the puncture of a man's arm, bring on disorders that are dangerous to the whole body; and the Constitution, now healthy and flourishing, may fall to cureless ruin.

Mr. Pitt, though he approved generally of the measure of a Reform in Parliament, wished it to be postponed till a more favourable moment, and in order to avoid a specific vote on the subject, proposed a motion of adjournment. Mr. Powys, Mr. Secretary Grenville, and Mr. Burke, spoke against the proposed Reform; and Mr. Fox in favour of it, though he recommended Mr. Flood to withdraw his motion, which was accordingly done.

ENGLISH CATHOLICS.

February 21, 1791.

MR. MITFORD moved, "*That leave be given to bring in a* "*Bill to relieve, upon conditions, and under restrictions, persons* "*called Protesting Catholic Dissenters, from certain penalties* "*and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the* "*Popish religion, are by law subject.*" *And upon a suggestion from the Speaker, he moved, in addition,* "*That this question* "*be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole* "*house.*"

MR. WINDHAM rose to second the motion, and began with declaring, that if the Learned Gentleman who had made the motion, had felt it necessary to apologize for its having fallen upon him to bring it forward, it was much more incumbent upon him (Mr. Windham) to lament that it had been put into such weak hands as his to second; that being the case, however, he said, he would not attempt to go at large into the subject, but would speak only simply and shortly upon a question which the mere dictates of humanity and justice would, he trusted, sufficiently impress upon the minds of all present. Mr. Windham

said, it appeared to him that there were but two principles that could justify laws of coercion, and penalty upon persons on account of their religious opinions: the one was, on the ground that their opinions were false and erroneous, and of ill consequence to their future salvation, and that therefore for their sakes it was necessary to extirpate such opinions and prevent their spreading; the other was, that their principles arising from their religious opinions were calculated to make them bad citizens, and dangerous subjects, and therefore the safety of the state required that they should be made the objects of very severe and harsh laws. Mr. Windham shewed the difference of acting upon these two principles; in the one sense, he said, the act he did might properly be termed persecution; in the other it was a very different thing. In the sense of the first of these principles persecution seemed so exploded, that it was to be considered as entirely out of the world. In justification of the other principle, it had been long the language that such laws were necessary to guard against the dangerous practices of the Roman Catholics towards the subversion of the government, and the introduction of arbitrary power; but however much they might like to charge those practices on the Roman Catholics, Mr. Windham declared he did not believe that history would bear them out in the fact. It might be said, that the Roman Catholics had shewn more of tyranny and oppression than we had; but then it ought to be considered that power had been longer in their hands than in ours. Mr. Windham remarked, that there were persons of

no mean authority, who contended that religious opinions ought not to exclude men from civil offices, and they founded a good deal of their argument on the principle of the unlawfulness of religious establishments. He here adverted to the great extent to which Mr. Fox had carried this principle, in his argument on the repeal of the Test Act, when by the force of his genius he had placed it in a very striking point of view. He declared that it had nevertheless had no effect on those who had made up their minds on the other side of the question. For his part, Mr. Windham said, he was not one of those who did not think it the duty of a good government to look to the religious prejudices of the subjects; he therefore could not agree with his Right Honourable Friend to the extent that he had carried his argument, but nine times out of ten he could agree to the same consequences for different reasons. His idea was, that no more could be justified against Roman Catholics than the State absolutely required, nor did he see the difference between them and dissenters of other descriptions. They did not ask to be admitted to places of power and trust, but to live in a free and enlightened country, exempted from the severe penalties imposed by laws, which were by connivance evaded, and which for that very reason ought not to be suffered to disgrace the Statute Book. Mr. Windham reasoned upon the degree of danger that was to be dreaded from the Roman Catholics, and said, that in all cases of danger there were two things to be considered, viz. the will of those from whom danger was apprehended, and the power they possessed to

execute, whatever might be thought it was their will to execute if they could. In this point of view did the Catholics appear formidable? Let them look at the general state of Roman Catholic countries throughout Europe. Did any man at that day dread the great power of the Pope? In countries naturally subject to him, he did not fill men's minds with that idea of the plenitude of his power, that would induce an apprehension that it would break its bounds, and rush through all Europe. In fact, it was now considered as a mere spectre, fit to frighten in the dark, but which vanished before the sight of reason and of knowledge; and therefore it was in the last degree absurd to talk of dreading danger from Popery, under the present circumstances. Mr. Windham took notice of the opinion that had formerly obtained, that a Roman Catholic's taking an oath was of no avail, because the Pope would grant him a dispensation, and absolve him from it. He shewed the folly and fallacy of this way of thinking, by reminding the house that a Catholic Peer would not take his seat in the House of Lords, when he might do it by taking an oath, but his conscience would not permit him to do it. He also mentioned the variety of occasions on which Catholics were believed on their oaths in other cases, and said, the Pope could grant a dispensation to Roman Catholics, but he could not absolve them from custom, from their feelings and a sense of honour, from the blood rushing to their face, and from blushing and trembling with shame at the idea of taking an oath to establish a vile falsehood.

Having already said more than he meant to say, and more than he thought was necessary upon the subject, he would conclude with giving his most hearty assent to the motion.

The question was agreed to be referred to a Committee of the whole house, and the Bill was subsequently passed.

ARMAMENT AGAINST RUSSIA.

February 29, 1792.

MR. WHITBREAD moved, as a Resolution, "That no "arrangement, respecting Oczakow and its district, appears to "have been capable of affecting the political or commercial in- "terests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on "the part of Great Britain between Russia and the Porte." This Resolution he declared he meant to follow up with two others, one of fact, the other of inference and censure, founded on the facts contained in the two first. The motion was supported by Mr. Grey, and opposed by Mr. Jenkinson (now Earl of Liverpool) in his first speech in Parliament, and by Mr. Grant, the present Master of the Rolls. In reply to the latter,

MR. WINDHAM said it was a pleasure to follow the Honourable Gentleman, notwithstanding his great ability, because he put the question on ground on which it could be fairly met. A fallacy, however, had slipt into his argument, the detection of which would be an answer to the greater part of it. He supposed the proposition moved to be put in the extreme, which was not the true state of it. They who moved, and they who supported it, were not bound to adopt a more broad statement than was necessary; and to what extent they did state it, the proposition

itself sufficiently explained. It was neither stated in the proposition, or the arguments in support of it, that Oczakow was of the highest degree of importance, nor that it was of no importance at all, but only that it was not of a sufficient importance to justify the hazard of a war, and that by those who seemed to think it of the most importance it had been afterwards abandoned. The examples of Cromwell supporting the designs of Louis XIV., and of the Athenians neglecting to counteract those of Philip, would have been applicable, had it been maintained that we were never to guard against any distant danger. The question was not on the general proposition, but on the degree of distant danger which it was fit to oppose, at the risk of incurring the calamities of war.

Was that to which we had been exposed such a danger? This was the true question, and he thought the answer was clearly a negative. We had just concluded a convention with Spain, which we were told not only settled all existing differences, but took away the grounds of future dispute. France, our ancient rival, was in a situation which, more than at any other period, freed us from apprehension on her account. In the midst of all this apparent security, a war was carrying on in the most remote part of Europe; so remote, and so little interesting, that many of the people of this country did not even know of it; and while those who did, were looking on as unconcerned spectators, the scene was shifted, as by the signal of the prompter's whistle, and shewed the stage full of armed men; and they were told, that the situation

they had been contemplating, might immediately be their own. *De te fabula narratur.* Nor was it the distance alone; the interest and the danger were at least as remote as the place; for which of our possessions, or what branch of our commerce was ever relatively concerned in the events of that war? The necessity of interference, in the case of any foreign power, depended much on the proximity of place, and our own positive and immediate interest. With regard to the theatre of the war, it was, in point of local distance, the very spot the most remote from us that could possibly be found on the globe. If it were moved towards the west, it would be nearer to us and our interests. If moved more to the east, it would approach the Indies where our territories were. It was the very physical distance, and it might be termed the very moral distance, at which no one interest of ours could attach. In the affair in Holland, the case was different. There we had an immediate positive interest, that required our interference. In the war between Russia and the Porte we had no interest whatever, unless we had established it as fit for us to act always in politics on that maxim, which was so excellent in respect to humanity,

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.

For our interference there was nothing to alledge but the balance of power; and this was a pretext so extensive, that it applied to every thing. On the balance of power we were called on, to interfere, for reasons, as it was said, that could not then be explained. The

state cabinet was now unlocked, and never did any cabinet display a more beggarly account of empty boxes. Nothing appeared but the same remote cause, the same undefined balance of power. An Honourable Gentleman, who spoke early in the debate, and who, it was to be hoped, for the information of the house, would speak often, had very ably stated a chain of causes and effects, by which the success of Russia might affect our interests. But what were these but a chain of probabilities, many depending on circumstances, and many on the lives and dispositions of sovereigns, any link of which broken destroyed the whole. Surely this could be no adequate cause of war, more especially at a period when almost every court of Europe was producing such changes as mocked all political speculation. Those who defended the conduct of ministers, argued as if they had succeeded in their object, while the fact was directly the reverse. Their object was almost a political nothing, and that nothing they had failed to obtain. They had not even the plea of a great aim and a glorious failure. They had aimed at trifling objects, and their success was still more diminutive. It reminded one of the account of an invalid, who could swallow *nothing*, and even *that* would not stay upon his stomach! Or to express it more classically,

> Nil habuit Codrus, attamen infelix ille,
> Perdidit totum nil!

When they said that Russia would not have kept her word if we had dismissed our armament, or rather

never equipped it, they were bound to give some proof of that assertion. It would be a most singular rule in politics, that the moment any two powers agreed on terms was the moment for both to arm, to prevent a breach of the agreement. The minister was not blamed for having yielded to the public opinion, but for having put himself into such a situation as that he could neither proceed without loss, nor retreat without disgrace. The boisterous tones which he had at first assumed, and for which he afterwards substituted the most humiliating concessions, resembled a sudden gust which terminated in sobs and sighs. The papers on the table, furnished no one reason why, instead of sending out press-warrants, we should not have sent our determination to the Russian ambassador in Harley-Street. — If there was any person who sought for explanations from these papers, they must look to cabalistic annotations, or some mode of decyphering; they certainly were not visible to common-place understandings. Much had been said of the honour which had been gained by ministry in the late negociation; he wished that the claim had been locally ascertained. It was certainly not in Russia, in Sweden, or with our new allies, the Turks, that we had gained this credit. Nor did he want the rescript of the Turkish minister to inform him, that the country had been disgraced, that we had incurred the contempt of our enemies, and the execration of our allies. He was not so much the enemy of the Right Honourable Gentleman, as to wish him the honours which he would experience on a public entry into the capital of

the Ottoman empire. That our armament was despised in Russia was evident, since it had not extorted a single concession; and that the causes of it were insufficient in the eyes of other powers, appeared from the alarm it had excited in France; the ostensible cause being absurd, the secret cause was naturally suspected.

For this cause, we had dragged our seamen by force from their employments, a subject to which he trusted the house would turn its attention, and find a proper remedy; for the mode of pressing, necessary as it was, till a substitute could be found, had the character both of a despotic and a barbarous Government. If it was asked, what temptations ministers had to act wrong, he was not bound to tell, although many could be assigned, such as the pride of dictating to contending potentates, and partitioning states and provinces. The question, if it applied to any charge of misconduct, would apply to every one, which was obviously absurd.

He called upon those who had refused to exercise their most valuable function of prevention, to exercise that of rigorous inquiry into a measure which had cost perhaps half a million of the public money, at a time, too, when they were selling the very morals of the people for money by a lottery. If this expence had been unnecessarily incurred, the minister was not entitled to their confidence; if they refused to inquire into it, they were not entitled to the confidence of their constituents.

Mr. Sheridan spoke in support of the Resolution; Mr. Dundas against it; after which the House adjourned till the next day, when Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt spoke, and the first Resolution was negatived. On putting the second, which stated that the interference of Great Britain had been unsuccessful, the previous question was moved and carried; — and upon the third Resolution, in which it was declared that in the interferenee and armament, the ministers had been "guilty of gross misconduct, tending to "incur unnecessary expences, and to dimininish the influence of "the British nation in Europe," the House divided, and the numbers were,

For the Resolution - -	116
Against it - - -	244

ABUSES AT WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

March 13, 1792.

MR. THOMPSON, adverting to some evidence on a recent trial, by which it appeared that a man named Smith, who had been convicted in a penalty of 50*l. for an offence against the Excise Laws, had had a part of it remitted, in consequence of services at the Westminster election performed at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, moved,* "*That this house will, on Friday morning next, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole house, to inquire into all abuses committed by persons in office at the election of a member to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster in July* 1788, *as far as the same relates to penalties incurred under the Excise Laws, or Lottery Act.*"

Mr. Lambton seconded the motion, relating another instance of abuse, in which a person, named Hoskins, imprisoned for penalties against the Lottery Act amounting to 700*l. had been released on sham bail, and permitted to escape on condition of his procuring* 60 *votes for Lord Hood. Mr. Rose entered into an explanation of the facts relating to Smith, and denied having any knowledge of those concerning Hoskins. Mr. Pitt and the Attorney-General opposed the enquiry; Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread supported it.*

Mr. WINDHAM said, that the very unaccountable language of that day induced him to rise, not because he thought it possible to adduce any new arguments in support of the motion, but because to be silent under the doctrines which had been advanced, would be to desert his duty, and to prostitute his feelings. The doctrines themselves had been strange — they had been more strange from the quarter whence they had originated. They militated against every principle of jurisprudence which the wisdom of ages had matured, or which the practice of all our courts had sanctioned — and yet they were brought forward by lawyers. A conduct had been held by His Majesty's ministers, which certainly did not greatly tend to the elevation of the house — and which he knew not how they could reconcile with their own dignity. They had recourse to a scrupulous nicety, under which a man of honour, charged with the suspicion of guilt, would have disdained to shelter himself, a mere verbal insufficiency; and taking refuge in the desperate practice of self-convicted and timorous offenders in our criminal courts, they had literally got off by a flaw in the indictment. They said, "it is necessary that you shall name the person high in office whom you charge, and unless you specify the offender, you shall not be permitted to inquire, although you assert that there is positive guilt." — "Why, Sir," said Mr. Windham, "even taking it with this captious objection, their scruple ought to be removed, when the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Thompson) fairly tells you, that the Secretary of the Treasury is personally charged.

Is not the Secretary of the Treasury a public man in high authority? Is he not a great man by his salaries? Is he not a public man by his trusts and offices?—View him in all his aspects—he is every where a public man—and he is personally accused. But the Learned Gentleman asserts it as a legal doctrine, that there ought not to be an inquiry unless there is a great and infinite probability of guilt. Is this, Sir, the practice of any one court in England? There ought not to be a trial, I admit, without a certain degree of suspicion; but there ought to be an inquiry wherever there is a charge, and wherever there is an open and avowed accuser. A man ought not to be brought before a jury of his peers to answer to a frivolous and vexatious charge, but will you say that the grand jury shall not examine the bill? To deny an inquiry is to bar the door against justice. It is contrary to the first principles of jurisprudence. It is what a band of criminals would rejoice in, but it would be fatal to innocence. We state that there is positive guilt—we have the record of positive guilt. We have the proof that a public officer suffered a person, accused of an offence against law, to escape, for a corrupt reason, offensive to the dignity of this house, outrageous to the representation of the people; and we have it presented to us, that he did this with the connivance of higher persons. We demand that this bill be examined. We demand that the house shall go into a committee, to see whether persons in office did, or did not, convert the public revenue into an instrument of election abuse. Granting a committee is not going to trial;

but if you say, that you ought not to inquire, when abuse it stated, you lay down a principle unknown in any court in the world! You say, in so many words at least, that the English House of Commons shall establish for its own conduct a doctrine to screen guilt and to torture innocence. Another doctrine, advanced by the Learned Gentleman, is certainly equally against his own practice in the courts. "There ought to be proof that the witnesses are credible." Why, Sir, was it ever heard of that the credibility of the witnesses became a question, till they came to give their evidence? till it was seen what stress was to be laid on their testimony? This new way of taking character by anticipation is a doctrine so strange and so contrary to all practice, that I confess it astonishes me to hear it advanced; and against all this we have the assertion of the gentlemen themselves. "I assure you," say they, "these witnesses are not deserving of credibility — trust us, the accused persons; we assure you of our innocence — and here let there be an end." Sir, they must surely entertain a higher opinion of the credulity of this house, than even their recent experience can justify, if they think that its confiding talent will be carried to this length. But if it is, then the majority will, upon reflection, see the true picture of their own conduct — they will see whether the imputations that have been thrown upon them, of giving confidence for reasons which they have never been so good as to explain, are not fairly to be ascribed to them. They will do more — this administration, which it has been their fashion to

paint, without, however, having any proofs to exhibit — certainly without any instances of purity which they please to advance, — as a perfect paragon of purity and virtue, will now stand unmasked and exposed in its natural and true colours. The gay embroidered suit of pretence, in which they have decked themselves, and under which they have strutted in magnificent disguise, is torn off, and we behold them in the tattered rags of their genuine deformity. They stand like the uncased Frenchman, which the licentiousness of our stage is too apt to exhibit in ridicule — in ruffles without a shirt — in tinsel and lace on the outside — in dirt and dowlas within — they stand before their confiding majority, convicted of shrinking from trial; and when a man does not dare to stand trial, the world have a right to believe him guilty.

Let me add, Sir, one word more on this serious subject. We have before us two pregnant instances of the use which is made of these summary and shameful proceedings, which are introduced into practice for the sake of our darling revenue — that revenue for which every thing is to be sacrificed — the citizen to be oppressed and ruined — the constitution to be violated. We see that these summary modes of conviction may be dexterously perverted into instruments of favour or of fear, as it may be the political and corrupt motive of office, for the moment, to gratify or to intimidate. You see the fact in glaring truth before you — It remains for you to shew to your constituents, suffering under these abominable laws, whether you will not at least provide

against the profligate perversion of them to other ends than revenue.

The house divided,

For the motion	-	- 84	
Against it	-	- 221	
Majority	-	137	*against the enquiry.*

REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES.

December 13, 1792.

HIS Majesty's Speech from the Throne, on opening the session, having been read by the Speaker, the Lord Mayor moved an Address, which contained the following passages:

" *It has been impossible for us not to perceive, from our own* " *observation in different parts of the country, the increased* " *activity with which seditious practices have of late been openly* " *renewed; and we learn, with concern, that not only a spirit* " *of tumult and disorder (the natural consequences of such prac-* " *tices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which* " *required the interposition of a military force in support of the* " *civil magistrate, but that the industry employed to excite dis-* " *content has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt, in* " *concert with persons in foreign countries, the destruction of our* " *happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and govern-* " *ment.*

" *We entertain a just sense of the temper and prudence which* " *have induced Your Majesty to observe a strict neutrality with* " *respect to the war on the continent, and uniformly to abstain* " *from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but, at* " *the same time, we cannot but participate in the just uneasiness* " *with which Your Majesty must observe any indications of an* " *intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard* " *the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest*

" *and aggrandizement, and particularly to adopt measures* " *towards Your Majesty's allies the States General, inconsistent* " *with the laws of nations, and the positive stipulations of exist-* " *ing treaties.*

" *The circumstances, which Your Majesty has been pleased to* " *communicate to us, appear to have rendered it highly important,* " *for the safety and interest of this country, that Your Majesty* " *should have recourse to those measures of prevention, and* " *internal defence, with which Your Majesty is entrusted by* " *law.*

" *We sincerely hope that these exertions, and the steps which* " *Your Majesty has taken for augmenting your naval and mili-* " *tary force, will have the happy tendency both to maintain* " *internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate con-* " *duct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.*

" *Your Majesty may, at the same time, rely on our zealous* " *concurrence in such measures as may prove to be necessary for* " *the security of these kingdoms, and for the faithful performance* " *of our engagements.*"

Mr. Fox moved an Amendment, " *To express to His Majesty* " *our most zealous attachment to the excellent constitution of this* " *free country; our sense of the invaluable blessings which we* " *derive from it, and our unshaken determination to maintain and* " *preserve it; to assure His Majesty that, uniting with all His* " *Majesty's faithful subjects in these sentiments of loyalty to the* " *Throne, and attachment to the constitution, we feel in common* " *with them the deepest anxiety and concern, when we see those* " *measures adopted by the executive government, which the* " *law authorises only in cases of insurrection within this* " *realm.*

" *That His Majesty's faithful Commons, assembled in a* " *manner new and alarming to the country, think it their first* " *duty, and will make it their first business, to inform themselves* " *of the causes of this measure, being equally zealous to enforce a*

" *due obedience to the laws on the one hand, and a faithful execu-*
" *tion of them on the other.*"

MR. WINDHAM rose immediately after Mr. Fox, and said, that strange as it might seem, he should vote this night with those whose measures he had uniformly and conscientiously reprobated, in opposition to those whose political sentiments on almost every occasion were in unison with his own. It might appear extraordinary that he should be found defending the measures of persons with whom he had been so long in political hostility, and in some degree reprobating the principles of some of his political associates. He had his attachments, he confessed, and those attachments in lesser considerations might have some influence even upon his judgement. But upon a subject of the importance of the present, he was determined to be governed solely by a sense of duty. — Indeed he had often given his opinion in that house, that in the year 1784 most unconstitutional measures had been adopted, and unconstitutional principles maintained; and on the same grounds he had often since reprobated the conduct of ministers, who had pretty uniformly adhered to the system upon which they had come into power; nay, he was of opinion, that to the proceedings of 1784, we might ascribe the evils of our present situation; but the question now was, whether they were right in the present instance? and here he confessed he could not agree with his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) in almost any of the sentiments he had expressed that

night.—They differed either upon principle, or on the application of principle, on all the points of this subject. The foundation however of their difference lay in the state of this country at the present moment. "Was the country at this moment in a state of danger, aye or no?" He was told, he said, that there was no real cause for alarm among the people; that the only alarm that was felt had been created by Government. Government must certainly have had strange and wonderful powers indeed to produce the alarm every day expressed in differents parts. No, there were serious and well-founded alarms from the conduct, not of the officers of Government, but from those who had sworn an enmity to all Government. —Did not the whole country feel it? Was not every town, village, and hamlet filled with apprehension. Could a man enter into his own house, or could he walk in a field, without observing, that it occupied the whole of the attention of all ranks and descriptions of people? This was what his Right Honourable Friend had been pleased to make a matter of argument, but what was really mere matter of observation; a man should not reason on the probability or improbability of these events, but should observe upon the fact, and attend to the relation of others. If a man confined himself in one room of his own house he would know no more of what was going on in the next, than he would know what was going on in another country; but if he chose to be vigilant he might know a good deal more. So in the present case, if a man would not believe any thing but what he saw, nor see any

thing but what he liked, it was not very probable that he would discover much of the alarm in question. But if he was at the pains to observe, the alarm was visible enough. Had he observed it? Yes. He had seen the intention of the enemies of the present constitution expressed in various shapes. He had seen it in the confidence of their agents; in the boldness of those who wished the subversion of the constitution. He appealed to the house, whether they did not know and feel that there was a general alarm all over the country. The next point to be considered, in the order which his Right Honourable Friend had taken, was how far it might be fit to check the cause of this mischief by law, the question of the policy of doing which he had determined in the negative. It was true that the measures now pursued over the country, were such as had never been employed before; but it must be observed, in answer to this, that there never had been such an occasion before. Speculative opinions had been published from time to time in this country, and they might have been continued to be published, but the manner of publishing, as well as the works published of late, were entirely new. He believed the society for Constitutional Information began the system now pursued; it was soon transplanted into another country, in the fertile soil of which it had thriven so well as to overthrow all order, and establish confusion. Having had this glorious effect by transplantation, it was now brought to this country, for the purpose of producing the same effect. The machine was so well constructed, there were such

skill, contrivance, and management in the engineers, that unless parliament were on their guard, and the sensible and honest part of the community, active in counteracting their designs, the whole form of our Government might be easily subverted. He spoke not from distrust merely, or rumour, but he knew, and it was notorious that there had been, and was now, a constant communication between persons in Paris, and persons in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of Government. This sort of counter alliance of the Englishman in Paris, and the Frenchman in London, had been regularly formed, and the effect of it was felt already in an alarming degree, for in every town, in every village, nay almost in every house, these worthy gentlemen had their agents, who regularly disseminated certain pamphlets; these agents were vigilant and industrious, delivered these pamphlets gratis, a proof there must be somewhere a society to defray the expence, for these agents could not afford to be thus generous to the public without assistance; they could not pay for them out of their own pockets. No, the whole was a well-arranged methodized plan, for gradually undermining the principles of the British constitution. This was not all, they proceeded with the solemnity of an oath, which was, that they were to be ready — Here the confusion arising from the loud cries of "Prove! prove!" and "Hear! hear!" interrupted him for a few seconds — when,

MR. BURKE (*called to order*). He observed, that a gentleman was asserting a fact which he was satisfied

could be proved, and a convenient season would soon arise for that purpose, that was, when there should be an inquiry into this business: but there could be no good reason why any gentleman delivering his sentiments should give up the sources of his information in this stage of the business. There might be good reason why they should not now be exposed.

Mr. WINDHAM then proceeded: he had heard long ago of the truth of what he had just been stating from very unquestionable authority — indeed he had been informed of it by an Honourable Member of that house, but it was not a fact of any great consequence. The system he had alluded to, had been carried on all over the country, more or less in the northern part of this kingdom; great pains had been taken with the poorer part of the community, to wean their affections from Government — and it was very strongly suspected, that the whole plan was supported by a purse which was believed to be made up in France; this he did not know, but he believed it to be the case. In answer to this, it might be answered that the French were not likely to contribute much money, having little or none to spare upon this or any other such occasion, to which the reply was obvious. Those who are in a state of desperation, have always the most money to squander upon acts of profligacy and dishonour; besides, poor and wretched as they were, yet such sums however large to individuals could not be of any great consequence to a nation. The manner in which this business was conducted, was very artful. On putting these works of sedition into the hands of

the labourer, they always told him they were intended for his instruction. They represented their societies as places for the instruction of the lower class. The proper meaning of fair instruction was by education to teach a man a mode of reasoning. But this instruction was nothing more than a general conveyance of particular opinions. Again, they said that their object was the propagating truth, and the improvement of the condition of man; how well these points have been gained we had recent instances. It was an attempt to reverse the order of society altogether. From the pulpit we had been accustomed to hear laid down, as the foundation of all happiness, obedience to the laws. From the Jacobin Club nothing was inculcated but disobedience to the law; and the doctrine that those who make laws in this country have no competent authority to make laws. These sentiments, if generally received, would very speedily overturn all order and government. The art with which these sentiments were introduced among the lower classes of society was consummate; they pretended that they taught nothing but philosophical truths; but instead of arguing philosophically in their books they made round assertions, and they acted wisely for their purpose by so doing; for the persons to whom they addressed themselves, were incapable of pursuing a subject logically from premises to a conclusion, nor would this mode of reasoning suit their cause. Not even these assertions were made, until they had prepared the mind to receive them; they gained the affections first by flattering the passions, and then they

proceeded to instruct, as they termed it. Whether the law, even in the freest country in the world, ought to permit every man to preach what doctrines he thought fit, and gain over as many proselytes as he could, was a question that had often been suggested, and which he should determine in the negative; for these truths, as they were termed, would dwindle into nothing, if the sentiment built upon them could be seen, and the consequences of them anticipated; but these poor peasants had not the power of deducing consequences, and therefore they listened to assertion.—Nor could he see the harm there was of preventing all endeavours to explain to a poor, illiterate fellow, whose extent of powers was but barely adequate to the task of procuring food for his own subsistence, points which had divided the opinions of the ablest writers. He saw no great loss to society from putting an end to public-house political clubs, and ale-house debates on politics; in short, he saw no reason why they should not be altogether suppressed. Next came the question, where will you draw the line, whom will you take up, and whom will you suffer to pass by; or, shall no man give his opinion upon the constitution? He said, he could not distinguish in this case by any previous principle, which must depend, as all acts in the law did, upon the discretion of a competent tribunal, a jury. This point he illustrated by several observations upon the various denominations of homicide and libels. But would he call that treason in duodecimo, which was innocent in quarto? that was what he did mean, be-

cause much of the guilt in these cases depended upon the *quo animo;* and he who printed seditious sentiments would take care, if he intended mischief, that they should be within the reach of the lowest order. 'Many of these persons, it seems, had been calumniated by imputing to them motives which they did not avow, and intentions which they denied; this observation was specious, but not solid, for it was well known they did intend what they did not profess, and this was demonstrable by their actions; some indeed, when questioned, confessed a direct intention of subverting our Government. If they were asked if they were friends to our Government, they answered, yes. But they wanted no King, they wanted no Lords — All they wanted was a perfect representation of the people. Such a constitution would no more be the consitution of England than the constitution of Venice; in short, their view was to destroy all hereditary right, and perhaps afterwards to attempt an equalization of property; for one of their books stated, that a country could not be said to be truly free, where there was so much inequality among its members. Some Gentlemen affected to treat these things with contempt, but they ought not, in his mind, to be so regarded. It was true, the high ranks of life were not contaminated by these infamous principles; but if they were to cast their eyes downward, they would see there lurking underneath a sort of subterranean heat, that might burst forth with prodigious violence, if not immediately extinguished.

With regard to the combined armies that marched towards the capital of France, he believed their motives were good, and therefore he wished them success; and so he should, had their motives been ever so bad: that which they opposed, was worse than any consequence that could have resulted from their success. He had been told, indeed, that no country ought to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another; this might be right in a limited sense, but it could not be so to the length insisted upon by some modern politicians; he could conceive many instances in which it ought to be departed from. Two nations might quarrel — one might be clearly in the right, and the other clearly in the wrong; the continuance of their contest might affect the interest of a third nation. Such a nation had a right to interfere. But did France pursue only her own internal regulation? Did she keep good faith in her decree, "That she abandoned for ever all ideas of foreign conquest?" She professed, indeed, good will to all mankind, but before a Frenchman could be faithful, his nature must be changed. — It was their object to lower this country, and in that they would persist until they should accomplish their wishes, if possible. — What was to be said for them in the war against the King of Sardinia? Still worse was their conduct at Geneva; but, above all, who would applaud their decree, "to give liberty to mankind?" Was it not avowing an intention to disturb every power in Europe? They talked, indeed, of giving to every place where their arms were victorious, a choice of the form of Govern-

ment; but did they wait for the sense of the majority? Not they indeed. When two or three were gathered together, &c. that was enough for them. What were their intentions with respect to this country? Refer to the correspondence of the Jacobin club of Manchester and the Jacobin club of Paris, did any man believe that they would hesitate to bring an army into the heart of this country, if they thought themselves safe in so doing? but they did not so much depend upon themselves as they did upon their bullies in other countries. Thus, from all circumstances, minute in themselves, but of the most serious importance when combined, it would appear that the alarm was not fictitious, but real. Ministers therefore, in point of principle, had acted rightly in calling out the militia. They might be a little irregular in point of form, but as they had observed the spirit of the constitution, they had his cordial support.

Mr. Secretary Dundas, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Anstruther supported the Address: Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Erskine spoke in favour of the Amendment. The house divided,

For the Address - - -	290
Against it - - - -	50
Majority - -	240

MOTION FOR EMBASSY TO FRANCE.

December 15, 1792.

MR. FOX moved, "That an humble Address be presented to "His Majesty, That His Majesty will be graciously pleased to "give direction, that a minister may be sent to Paris, to treat "with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of "Executive Government in France, touching such points as may "be in discussion, between His Majesty and his allies, and the "French nation."

MR. WINDHAM acknowledged, that when any measure proceeded from Mr. Fox, it was not without the greatest anxiety that he refused his assent to it. What the judgment of his Right Honourable Friend was, every one knew; how pure his motives, how eminent his integrity, it would be as impertinent in him to maintain, as it would be in any one to waste the time of the house in discussing positions that were acknowledged by all mankind. However wide, therefore, the difference that subsisted between his Right Honourable Friend and him, he was persuaded that it was only that species of difference which exists between two persons, beholding the same object from two distinct points of view. He was persuaded that it was

not a difference that extended to principle. Having paid this just tribute to Mr. Fox, he hoped that he should not appear to have been bribed to it, by the partial compliments he had received from his Right Honourable Friend; he hoped that it would be seen to be the genuine result of conviction; the unbiassed testimony of experience.

He agreed with Mr. Fox in his statement, that this was merely a measure of expediency that did not implicate the conduct or the government of France. He acceded not only to this position, but to his Right Honourable Friend's assertion, that necessity often dictated to one country a recognition of the power of another. Having made a concession to this extent, he contended that those who argued against a recognition of the Republic of France, were fortified not only by experience, but by higher principles, by the interests of nations, and by the dictates of humanity. Thus "thrice armed," very powerful arguments indeed ought to be used, more powerful than any that had been used, to induce the house to assent to the motion of his Right Honourable Friend; for by recognizing the Republic of France, what consequences would Great Britain produce? The complete alienation of those powers with whom she was at present allied; not only the alienation of allies, but by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation deplorable indeed; she would arm every subject, of every kingdom, against the powers that governed those kingdoms; she would produce consequences as fatal to the

future interests of the world, and as much to be lamented, as the retreat of the combined armies from France, which he looked upon to be the most fatal event that had ever happened.

If he were to be asked, whether he would submit to an evil, or wait for a necessity, he was not quite sure that he would not wait for compulsion, and take that for his justification. That Great Britain should be the first country to be less shocked with massacre and murder; — that she should be the first country to evince a want of feeling; — filled him with anguish, and with horror! That she should be the first to preclude herself from forming a part of the confederation, was disgraceful indeed! If submission to France must be the consequence, necessity should first justify that submission. Well did the house know, that no inquiry could be made into the origin of governments; the greater the space of time, therefore, that elapsed from that origin, the smaller was the crime incurred. Evils, by mere time, become less; by time the Government of France might become less shocking, and less wicked.

After all, he confessed he had not heard what advantages were to result from a recognition of the Republic of France. All that he had heard was, that the effect of negociation might dispose France to such measures as would prevent the necessity of war; but, good God! what method could be more dishonourable than this! what proposition could confer more shame upon the country!

With respect to the temper and feelings of the people, he acknowledged that they ought, on all occa-

sions, to be consulted. This was proper, because the public judgment was the great rule of right and wrong. Every free Government would act on this position; but if by the feelings of the people it was meant, that the necessity of a war, or the necessity of peace, should be determined by the first impression of the public, no impression would be found to be more false. It was contrary to the scheme of the constitution, which had placed the determination of this necessity, not in the public at large, but in a source the farthest removed from the people—in the crown; for war generally depended on a series of facts that could not be publicly known. War could never be adopted but on remote principles. Were the people, therefore, he would ask, possessed of such capabilities, as were absolutely necessary for the discussion of such questions? Clearly not. This remark he had judged it necessary to make, because a position had been much circulated, that in transactions of this nature the Government of the country was not to be considered.

These sentiments, inadequate as they were to the magnitude of the question, the suggestion of which perhaps he lamented, determined him to give his vote against the proposition for sending an Ambassador to the French Republic.

The question was negatived without a division.

WAR WITH FRANCE.

February 1, 1793.

THE SPEAKER having read a message from His Majesty, Mr. Pitt moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His "Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for "his most gracious message, and for the communication of the "papers, which by His Majesty's command, have been laid be-"fore us.

"To offer to His Majesty our heartfelt condolence on the "atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which must be viewed "by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, "and humanity, and as a striking and dreadful example of the "effect of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred "duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all "civil society.

"To assure His Majesty, that it is impossible for us not to be "sensible of the views of aggrandisement and ambition, which, "in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been "openly manifested on the part of France, and which are con-"nected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the "existence of all just and regular government: that, under the "present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual "opposition to these views as essential to the security of every "thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and "to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries.

"That impressed with these sentiments, we shall, with the "utmost zeal and alacrity, afford His Majesty the most effectual

" assistance to enable His Majesty to make a farther augmentation " of his forces by sea and land, and to act, as circumstances may " require, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining " the security and honour of his Crown, for supporting the just " rights of his allies, and for preserving to his people the undis- " turbed enjoyment of the blessings which, under the Divine " Providence, they derive from the British constitution."

This Address was supported by Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Anstruther, and opposed by Lord Wycombe, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Fox.

Mr. WINDHAM replied to Mr. Fox. He agreed that in all probability France had no wish at this moment to go to war with this country, as they were not yet ready to do so; their object seemed to be to take all Europe in detail, and we might be reserved for the last. It had been said, that no specific object had been held out for which this country should go to war; nor in his opinion could it always happen, that, previous to entering upon a war, the precise object which was to lead to its termination should be distinctly known. At present we go to war for the security of this country, to attain which would be the object of the war, though it might be impossible to say how or when that was to be obtained: in the same way, when a person is attacked by a ruffian, the object is to escape, though it may be uncertain by what means that may be accomplished. In his opinion, from the present declared disposition of the French, war was inevitable, and the only choice left us was the time, and he thought it by no means prudent to wait till they were ready to attack us. He conceived the

French to be actuated by as great a spirit of conquest at present as they had ever been. War might, no doubt, occasion some discontents in this country; but impressed, as he was, that war was absolutely inevitable, neither that consideration, nor the calamities necessarily attending it, and which were always much to be regretted, bore at all upon his mind. His opinion of the views of the French, founded upon the whole tenor of their conduct for the last three or four years, could hardly be changed by any argument; and from thence conceiving it impossible that war could be avoided, he thought it should be undertaken when it might probably be most effectually carried on; negociation might, no doubt, be tried, but he had no hope that it would do any good.

Mr. Windham then proceeded to state strongly his ideas of the great danger of the propagation of French principles, and agreed entirely with his Honourable Friend (Mr. Anstruther), that opinions and principles, supported and propagated by arms, behoved to be opposed by arms. In his idea, the conquest of Britain by Louis XVI. would by no means have been a calamity equal to the propagation of French principles. In the one case, our persons might perhaps have been safe; all morality, order, and religion, would be totally overthrown in the other. This would be a war *pro aris & focis* to the greatest extent.

In respect to the principle of interfering in the affairs of other countries, particular rules must govern particular cases. In Queen Elizabeth's time this country interfered in the affairs of Holland; other such instances

had since occurred; and France itself was at present interfering in every country into which she can force admission.

With respect to the Duke of Brunswick's expedition, which had been called the cause of despots, he confessed he had wished them success, from the belief that the evil which that expedition was undertaken to remove was greater than any which could be apprehended from its success. He said, he could by no means join with his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) in his approbation of French principles, considered abstractedly, for they appeared to him as false in theory as in practice. As to the term equality and equal rights, in his opinion, it was curious to see a writer on that subject struggling with a definition of equality — only perplexing the matter farther by calling it equality of rights, and obliged to give a commentary as large as a pamphlet before he could so define it as to make it capable either of assent or dissent. Upon what had been said as to the sovereignty of the people, he should at present go no farther into the discussion than to enter his protest against the doctrine that the people, or a majority, have a right to make and unmake governments according to their caprice; though he admitted that it was a general subject of intricate and important discussion.

France had an hatred to this country, Mr. Windham observed, not on account of ancient rivalry, but because our constitution is a perpetual contradiction to their government. Who, he asked, ever expected advantages from war? But great as is the evil of war,

he observed, there must even be something greater, namely, the occasion of it. As to the idea that nothing but extirpation could effect the most desirable object of the war, that was viewing the matter in too dreadful a light: it would surely not be surprising if a people, who had of late so often changed their opinion, should be brought again to alter it, and to adopt sentiments more consistent with the good order of all governments, and the general tranquillity of Europe, as well as more conducive to their own happiness.

The question was put on the motion for the Address, and carried without a division.

SEDITIOUS PRACTICES.

March 4, 1793.

MR. Sheridan moved, " *That an humble Address be presented* " *to His Majesty, praying, that he would be pleased to order* " *such communications as may have been received, as to the* " *existence of seditious practices in this country, to be laid before a* " *Committee of the House.*"

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Lambton,

MR. WINDHAM said, that he felt it difficult to answer the arguments of the Honourable Gentleman; since they were arguments in which he himself was peculiarly implicated. To a speech, however, so irregular, so various, and composed of such heterogenous materials, he should give every possible degree of method that was in his power. The Honourable Gentleman, Mr. Windham complained, had used the artifice too often to be met with in polemick controversy: that of changing the question, and then arguing upon it. He had talked of plots and insurrections; but the existence of plots and insurrections had never been the question. The question was the state of the country, which, in his opinion, was such as would

have led to plots and insurrections. It related to seditious practices hitherto unknown, calling loudly for an effectual remedy, and amply justifying every act that had been adopted for the prevention of their farther progress. The species of insurrection stated in the proclamation, purported to be exactly what it was: and when Gentlemen called for proofs of acts of positive insurrection, they called for proofs of what had never been asserted. Of the facts which had been cited, proofs had not been given, because they were deemed unnecessary.—The whole country had teemed with seditious publications; and when the state of the country had been talked of as justifying alarm, was not that fact sufficient? Another fact, no less convincing to his mind, as the foundation of national fear, was the assiduity with which those seditious publications had been circulated. To ask for proofs of the existence of those facts were as absurd as to ask for proofs of the existence of General Dumourier: and the minds of men might be as much perplexed by questions from a subtle inquirer on the one subject as on the other. Might not a man from a combination of various disconnected circumstances, receive a convincing impression of a general fact, and yet not be able to state any particular proofs of such fact? Would Gentlemen be convinced by nothing less than ocular or tangible evidence of every subject of inquiry? Such reasoners no statement would satisfy; and if he should say, that there was a discontented spirit at Norwich, they might ask what judgment he could thence form concerning other parts of the king-

dom? But it happened, that his conviction arose not from knowledge of so partial a nature. He had seen symptoms of a discontented spirit, not at Norwich only, but at various other places, and when people of all descriptions, from all parts of the kingdom, seemed to concur in feeling the same species of alarm, however false particular rumours might be, such terror could not be totally unfounded; there could not exist so much smoke without fire! One of the charges, Mr. Windham observed, that had been brought forward against Government on the present occasion was, that they had for a long time meant to carry on a war against France, and therefore had created the present alarm: but to that charge, no other answer appeared necessary than a reference to dates. The alarm had existed in November last, and Government did not take their first measures till December. That alarm had called forth the different loyal associations which had been so much misrepresented, but which had merited the highest praise; and none more so than that which had been so calumniated, of the Crown and Anchor; an association, that had actually been the means of saving this country. When the Honourable Gentleman wondered that he who had been in the habits of acting with opposition should at present act with administration, he hoped that the circumstance of his having long represented the state of the country to administration, and now supported them in their measures, taken for its safety, would be considered as an evidence of his sincerity on the subject. The Honourable Gentleman had declared that the more uniform

and universal that fear might have been, the more doubt ought there to be of the existence of real danger: but this was a new theory; and to his mind it appeared more an universality of fear, than any principle of panic which that Honourable Gentleman could have discovered. There was not a writer on the subject, who had not boasted that this was a new æra in the history of mankind; an æra when light was more than usually diffused, and when public opinion was beginning to be heard, and could not be resisted. Other men might form a far different judgment; they might declare that the engine of these irresistible efforts was not that of public opinion, but that it was the engine of the press, set to work by every possible art, and addressed to the passions of men, who were incapable of being actuated by an appeal to their reason. When these means had already overturned the Government of a neighbouring country from its base, ought we not to guard from such fatal effects? It had been said by the agents of Mr. Paine, that the principles which would produce the same event in this country were operating with the silence and rapidity of thought. He firmly believed it: the fact was, some time since, to be ascertained from the general opinions of the people; from the fears of those who dreaded the event; from the sanguine expectations of those who wished it. It had been the ruin of the Government of France, that they did not adopt and carry into practice timely measures of prevention; and should we not take warning from the lamentable example of that unhappy country? Who were the governors of France

at this moment? People raised from the lowest to the highest situations, who domineered over the fairest cities: and a change in the political system of this country would throw power into the hands of characters similar to those in France who have followed the series of reformers, too many to be enumerated. Was the probability of such an event no just subject of alarm and danger? The massacres of the 2d of September were said to have been produced by a mere handful of men. If that were true, if so small a number could accomplish so extensive a mischief in Paris, guarded by armed troops, could such a city as London escape the blow? Mr. Windham then stated a report which he had heard, of clubs having been formed, to which those who were admitted received money for their attendance, and were told that their services would be wanted on some future occasion. Such a report might possibly be untrue, but he had certainly heard it, and he had it from people not connected with each other. When it was asserted that such clubs met only for the purpose of parliamentary reform, and conducted themselves in an orderly manner, he thought that the ground for alarm was greater; just as he should have more reason to fear an hostile army on being told that it was well disciplined. It was curious that Gentlemen should require proofs of such a fact as that of the opinion entertained throughout the kingdom. The unanimous consent of the House of Commons, on meeting after the recess, was pretty good evidence of such a fact. As to his having canvassed for Government, he denied

the assertion; and he thought when misrepresentations were so much condemned, that misrepresentations of such a nature ought to have been avoided. He had before said, and again asserted, that there might exist critical circumstances of the country, in which to support administration was the first duty of men of every party. Such was the case at present, and it behoved Gentlemen to be upon their guard; the fire was suppressed for a time, but not extinguished. The measures of Government had already produced good effects. They had checked the operations of those who wished to overturn the constitution; they had stopped others from going over to their party; but he feared they had not made one proselyte. These men had now found it to their advantage to pretend that no danger had happened; like housebreakers who rested on their arms, and affected ignorance, when on the eve of detection by the family whom their efforts had awakened; but who resolved, as soon as suspicion should be laid asleep, to renew their atrocities. Mr. Windham spoke of the obstinate incredulity of the Honourable Gentleman in persisting to think that the alarm throughout the country was created by administration as a pretext for their subsequent conduct, and asserted that the evidence of danger was indubitable, and was such as the majority of the house had sanctioned by its assent. He therefore totally disapproved the present motion.

In reply to certain observations made by Mr. Fox on some parts of the above speech,

MR. WINDHAM, in explanation, said, he had stated that insurrections, however they might justify the conduct of ministers, were not the ground of his opinions, or of his conduct, but the general state of the country. With respect to the conduct of a Gentleman not a member of the house (Mr. Reeves), he had praised only in general terms, his giving birth to the associations which had done so much good. With the mode of receiving anonymous information, he was not acquainted, he had not commended it, and he was not prepared to condemn it. He begged to be understood as giving no opinion upon it; if in any proceeding which he had thought it is duty to adopt, there was an air of hostility to his Right Honourable Friend, there was no man that lamented it more sincerely than himself.

Mr. Burke opposed the motion, which was negatived, without a division.

LIST OF ADMINISTRATION

As it stood in 1794; *on the accession to it of that part of the opposition which was called the Portland Party.*

Right Hon. William Pitt	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Duke of Portland	Secretary of State, Home Department.
Lord Grenville	Ditto, Foreign Department.
Right Hon. Henry Dundas	Ditto, War and Colonial Department.
Lord Loughborough	Lord Chancellor.
Earl Fitzwilliam	Lord President (succeeded by Earl Mansfield).
Earl Spencer	Lord Privy Seal (succeeded by the Earl of Westmoreland).
Earl of Chatham	First Lord of the Admiralty (succeeded by Earl Spencer).
Duke of Richmond	Master of the Ordnance (succeeded by Marq. Cornwallis).
Right Hon. W. Windham	Secretary at War.
Lord Hawkesbury	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Thomas Steele Right Hon. Dudley Ryder	Paymasters-General.
Earl of Chesterfield Earl of Leicester	Postmasters-General.
Right Hon. H. Dundas	Treasury of the Navy.
Sir John Scott	Attorney-General.
Sir John Mitford	Solicitor-General.
George Rose, Esq. Charles Long, Esq.	Secretaries to the Treasury.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord *Lieutenant of Ireland*, succeeded by Earl Fitzwilliam, who was succeeded by Earl Camden.

CALL FOR PEACE.

December 30, 1794.

HIS Majesty's Speech on opening the session having been read by the Speaker, an Address approving of the vigorous prosecutiou of the war was moved by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning.

Mr. Wilberforce moved an Amendment, " *To assure the house* " *that they are ready to grant the most liberal supplies, for the* " *purpose of enabling His Majesty to act with vigour and effect* " *in supporting the dignity of his Crown, the internal security of* " *his dominions, and the good faith towards His Majesty's allies,* " *for which this country has been so eminently distinguished: and* " *that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses of the* " *last campaign, they are firmly convinced that from the unre-* " *mitting exertions of His Majesty, and the spirit and zeal* " *which have been so generally manifested throughout the kingdom,* " *by a people sensible of the advantages they enjoy under His Ma-* " *jesty's Government, they may promise themselves (by the bles-* " *sing of Providence) complete security from the attempts of foreign* " *or domestic enemies.*

" *That at the same time they beg leave most humbly to repre-* " *sent to His Majesty, that upon full consideration of all the* " *events and circumstances of the present war, and of some trans-* " *actions which have lately passed in France, and also of the* " *negociation entered into by the States-General, they think it* " *adviseable and expedient to endeavour to restore the blessings of*

" *peace to His Majesty's subjects, and to his allies, upon just and* " *reasonable terms.*

" *But that if, contrary to the ardent wishes of his faithful* " *Commons, such endeavours on the part of His Majesty should* " *be rendered ineffectual by the violence and ambition of the enemy,* " *they are persuaded that the burdens and evils of a just and ne-* " *cessary war, will be borne with cheerfulness by a loyal, affec-* " *tionate, and united people.*"

MR. WINDHAM (the Secretary at War) said, he had heard with surprise and grief, the arguments in support of the amendment. What was their obvious tendency? Submission, humiliation, degradation before an inveterate and insolent enemy. It was absurd to say, that a display of our force would cure the evil; for the very act of offering to treat, or suing for peace, would be a confession of weakness that could not be done away. Did the French convention act thus, when the confederacy against them appeared the most powerful, and they were pressed by the arms of the allies in every quarter? — No: they remitted nothing of their lofty language; they never once talked of peace. It was proposed to consent to nothing less than a safe and honourable peace, while it was acknowledged in the same breath, that no peace, concluded under the present circumstances, could be safe; while it was alledged, as an argument, that we might make it safe, by keeping ourselves on our guard, and prepared for war. The war, it was true, had been unsuccessful; but it had been so, only as compared with the wishes, the hopes, and the force of the con-

federacy. It had been unsuccessful from conduct, on the part of some of the allies, of which, for the honour of nations, he hoped the instances would be few. It was not unsuccessful, compared with foreign wars in which this country had been engaged. Look at the history of our wars with Louis XIV. which continued, with little interruption, for twenty years after the revolution. In those wars we and our allies had been much more unsuccessful than in the present war, and yet, by spirit and perseverance, we triumphed in the end. All, therefore, that could with truth be said was, that the war hitherto had had only a negative success.

If the enemy had over-run part of the territories of our allies, we had in our hands very valuable possessions of theirs, which rendered the war, however unsuccessful as to the main object of it, not unsuccessful with regard to us individually. The circumstance from which the greatest danger appeared, and of which he had seen an alarming symptom in the speeches of Gentlemen who spoke for the amendment, was, that the country was not true to itself: it had not put hand and heart to the war, as on former occasions, when the stake was not so great, and the crisis far less formidable. This was owing to several causes. The French revolution, in its earlier stages, was looked upon with a favourable eye by the people of this country. We all regarded it as the virtuous effort of a great nation, to correct the abuses of its Government; as the friends of liberty, we looked upon it with an indulgent eye; and although we saw things

which we could not approve, we were willing to hope that the evil would be transitory, and the good permanent. Yet even at that time, there were not wanting men of great and comprehensive minds to warn us of the consequences that must necessarily result from the principles on which the French revolution was proceeding. A Right Honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Burke) who he regretted was no longer a member of that house, in a book which he would advise all who heard him once more to read, had predicted the evils that must necessarily ensue from their doctrines of liberty, equality, and the rights of men. It was his fate not to be believed at the time, and afterwards to be found completely right. Then came the opinions of those who, having favoured the French revolution at its commencement, could not so soon as others detach their affections from a system that had led to massacre and ruin. The imaginations of the people at large continued to be amused, as he and those with whom he had now the happiness to act contended, by a numerous and active party infected to the bone with French principles, and intent on the subversion of the British constitution. Societies formed by this party had propagated doctrines the most hostile to the interests of the country. But it was said, the members of these societies had been acquitted by the verdict of a jury; and gentlemen talked of their innocence in a tone of exultation. He wished them joy of the innocence of an acquitted felon.

[He was called to order by a member under the gallery (Mr. MAURICE ROBINSON), who said he

could not hear without indignation the term felon applied to a man who had been acquitted, and the verdict of an English jury arraigned and degraded.]

Mr. Windham explained that he did not mean to arraign here the verdict of a jury; he meant only to say that the acquittal of the persons who had been brought to trial for treason, although proof that there was no legal evidence of their guilt in the opinion of the juries, by no means proved that they were free from moral guilt. The evidence in his mind established the direct contrary. The minds of the people, as he had before observed, were agitated by a party here, countenanced and supported by men of great consideration, who, in support of their own views, were willing to receive the aid of men whose views they knew to be very different, and so made a common cause with them. The French revolution in a very early stage proclaimed universal peace; and all who applauded this visionary doctrine, continued to applaud those by whom it was promulgated, even after it was seen that their practice led only to war and devastation. These were some of the circumstances which had rendered the prosecution of the war on our part less vigorous than it ought to have been. He maintained that our interference in the internal affairs of France, when that interference became necessary for our own safety, was wise and just. It was the distrust of this which had unnerved our exertions, and prevented us from interfering so soon as we ought to have done. The advantages of war or peace were not to be estimated by the territory

or the trade we might gain or lose. No nation should say — Let us be disgraced provided we grow rich; if it did, what security was there for the continuance of its riches? When he received advice, he must consider both the advice itself, and those from whom it came. Approving or disapproving of the French revolution must in future decide and distinguish the political characters of men. They were extremes irreconcilable, and what was fit for the one could never be good for the other. When, therefore, any man offered him advice, he would first ask to which of the two descriptions he belonged; and if he found him to differ in this essential point from himself, he would say, "This may be good advice for you, but cannot be good advice for me." The people of this country, he trusted, would in future think this distinction as strongly marked as he did. He could not see upon what principle, or with what propriety, those, who originally considered the war as just and necessary, could now change their opinion. The Honourable Gentleman who moved the amendment, had, as far as his single vote went, contributed to embark his country in the war; and having done so, was it fair, on disasters, perhaps merely casual and temporary, to abandon it? The confederacy against the common enemy, was not to be considered as dissolved because one or two of its members had withdrawn. Even if it were dissolved, how long was it since we entertained the idea that Great Britain alone was not able to cope with France? With respect to the number of the well-disposed inhabitants of France, there was no reason to

believe that our chance of co-operation within the kingdom was less than it had been at any former period.

He was astonished at hearing any man talk of the stability of the French Government, which exhibited nothing but a succession of changes, and these changes generally effected by violence. Peace was not more likely to be obtained for our asking for it. If it were, what would then be the situation of this country? A situation so awful, that he durst hardly contemplate it. The intercourse between the two countries must be opened; the French would pour in their emissaries, and all the English infected with French principles, whom we had now the means of excluding, would return to disseminate their abominable tenets among our people. With what views would they come? With the views very forcibly expressed in a song performed with great applause in one of those innocent societies, as they were now called, a stanza of which he recollected.

> They come, they come, the myriads come,
> From Gallia to invade us;
> Raise, raise the pike, beat, beat the drum,
> They come, like friends, to aid us.

A Jacobinical club would be erected at every one's door; an inquisition immediately instituted respecting his right to his property; and a convention might be even established in the neighbourhood of that house. In this situation of danger, then, shall we send a submissive commission to them? If the aggression of the Spaniards at Nootka Sound, a place

scarcely marked in our maps, called forth the threatening vengeance of this country; if our own territories are not dismembered, our resources almost untouched, should we give up a war, in comparison of which all former ones are as children's play, and all peace must be ruin? The moment that peace was concluded, they would go among our poor, among our labourers, among our manufacturers, and teach them the doctrine of liberty and equality. They would point out the gilded palaces of the rich, and tell them that they ought to be plundered and demolished for the benefit of the poor. True it was that the poor man had as great an interest in the security of property as the rich; but could this argument be made so clear to the poor man as to persuade him to respect the property of his wealthy neighbour while he had no property of his own, or as it might be, for such was the necessary order of society, the means of obtaining any when he stood most in need of it? Such a peace would be worse than any probable event of war. But of the future events of war we had no reason to despond. Exertions greater than the country could make at any former period, were now so slightly borne as hardly to be felt. — Who could say that he had felt them; except those whose expences were so near the whole extent of their means, that the least accident, either in peace or war, must reduce them to distress? Had the poor felt them, unless in a few particular and local instances? Had those who were constantly telling the poor of the miseries of war, been obliged to curtail a single luxury? What member of

that house had deprived himself of any of his wonted gratifications? [Here Mr. Sheridan reminded him that the members were not the poor.] He acknowledged that the members were opulent and the representatives of opulence; but he held it as a maxim, that if the rich felt no suffering, the poor also were not likely to feel any. The cause for which they were fighting, it had been said, would animate the French and render them invincible. Where had this invincible courage appeared? In what instance, in what quarter had the courage of our soldiers and seamen been inferior to theirs? Sorry he should be if we could not do for the best of all causes, what the French could do in support of every thing the most flagitious. The French emigrants in our service in every instance had displayed a valour and perseverance not surely to be exceeded by their infatuated countrymen against whom they were reduced to the necessity of taking up arms. He dwelt at some length on the unimpaired resources of this country compared with the unnatural and consequently unsound resources of France, from which he inferred, that whatever present appearances might indicate, we must be ultimately successful. It was not the character of the English easily to despond. Perseverance and invincibility were their characteristics. They had met France single-handed in her proudest day; what then can hinder us, unimpaired, to go on with the war with a nation whose capital is with accelerating rapidity wasting away, and itself upon the brink of poverty? With such a pandemonium, is it possible for us for a moment to think of treating? They were

bleeding to death, our wound as yet was but skin-deep. He exhorted the house to imitate the perseverance of the French, who endured every hardship, and in all their domestic contests, to do them justice, never forgot the common cause of their country. He concluded with recommending the advice given by King William to his parliament after an unsuccessful campaign; that by persevering they might hope with confidence to preserve their religion, liberties and constitution, if they were not wanting to themselves, and displayed the patient spirit of Englishmen.

Mr. Bankes, Sir Richard Hill, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, supported the Amendment. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas spoke in favour of the original Address. The house divided,

For the Amendment - -	75
Against it - - -	246
Majority in favour of the original Address	171

HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION ACT.

January 5, 1795.

MR. SHERIDAN moved for leave "to bring in a Bill, "to "repeal an Act passed in the last session of Parliament, em- "powering His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as "shall be suspected of conspiring against his Person and Govern- "ment."

MR. WINDHAM (Secretary at War) said, that there were so many of his Honourable Friends more capable than he could presume to be, of answering the various topicks which had been brought into argument by the Honourable Gentleman who had just sat down, that he should not have troubled the house with any observations at that early period of the debate, were it not that personal allusion had been frequently made to himself in the course of that Gentleman's elaborate declamation.—The first topic which he would notice, was the Honourable Gentleman's remark upon some words which fell from him respecting a Right Honourable Gentleman on the other side of the house (Mr. Fox), whom, whether he called so or not, he certainly would consider as a friend. This was a

subject which he had long remarked some Honourable Gentlemen had a great propensity to bring into discussion; he had before been obliged to make animadversions upon it, as it was, to say no worse of it, extremely officious; and, however the Honourable Gentlemen might flatter themselves that it conduced to their views, he would hazard an assertion, that such intermeddling did not give satisfaction to either party. As the matter, however, had been brought on the tapis, he would fully explain that which he had already, as he thought, explained before. What he had said on a former day, and what he would then repeat was, that for mutual accommodation he would, though he retained the sentiment, discontinue the usual form of address, and had given for his reason, that, standing with each other on a different footing from what they had formerly done, he might, by persisting in it, force his Right Honourable Friend into restraint or embarrassment. This he avowed to be the real meaning of his expressions, and this he fancied must still be in the recollection of every one present; he put it to the Honourable Gentleman himself to declare whether it was not the handsomest mode of deporting himself; had he done otherwise, those who had thought proper to bring the subject under notice might say that he acted with the insidious intention of promoting that restraint and embarrassment which, in truth, he wished to avoid. If this was an error, he confessed it to be an error of deliberation, and one in which he certainly meant to persist.

The Honourable Gentleman had endeavoured to persuade the house, that the conduct of the persons who promoted the war was criminal; and that he (Mr. Windham) was more criminal than any of its abettors. He was desirous to avow, that, on the footing on which the Honourable Gentleman had stated it, he was indeed criminal. If it were criminal to have seen, at a very early period, (but not so early as he could wish he had,) that the conduct of the French was likely to involve Great Britain in warfare and confusion, and to be convinced that, in her own defence, as well as from principles of justice and policy, she should have declared war before she did, then certainly he was most highly so. But that, he hoped, was the very utmost extent of his criminality; and of his firmness and resolution, to which the Honourable Gentleman had alluded, he would answer for it, that he never would be found to shrink from any charges that might be brought against him, nor be deterred by the empty menace of any set of men, from the constant and zealous discharge of the trust reposed in him, and from the most unremitting vigilance against every thing that had the face of hostility to his country or himself, particularly the politics of the Honourable Gentleman.

The Honourable Gentleman had said, that, in discussing the subject in agitation, he would deal with him with the utmost frankness. He wished, for the Honourable Gentleman's own sake, as well as that of the house, the subject, and himself, that he had coupled another thing along with it, and used him

with fairness as well as with frankness. He had however done quite the reverse, and given the most unfair and unaccountable construction to all that he had said. Had there been any thing in his mode of expressing himself at all ambiguous, candour would have taken it rather upon the favourable side; whereas the Honourable Gentleman had made use of a supposed ambiguity to pervert his meaning, and substituted his own suppositions in the place of facts. He declared, and called for the house to bear witness for him, that he had not, in using the words *acquitted felon*, at all alluded to the persons lately acquitted: on this point, it was to be lamented by the Honourable Gentleman's admirers and advocates, that all his tragic declamations, all his deep-toned, fine-spun periods, fell at once to ruin, the foundation itself being thus withdrawn from under them. For himself, he declared what he had said was this — When the Honourable Gentleman had endeavoured, with so little judgment and so little effect, to demonstrate that the acquittal of those men (whether they are called felons or culprits, for he was almost afraid to call them, by any name, lest he should be misinterpreted) had entirely proved the non-existence of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, as well as their own individual innocence, he had said, that they were proved innocent to no greater an extent than numberless other persons who were discharged from the Old Bailey; not from their innocence being established in a moral point of view, but from want of legal proof of their guilt. This exultation of the Honourable

Gentleman and the persons acquitted, they shared with many culprits who, though absolutely guilty, are discharged from failure of prosecution, from a flaw in the indictment, or from any other of those various legal points, under cover of which the guilty sometimes skulk away from the arm of justice, and strut about afterwards, talking of remedy by actions at law, and pluming themselves upon their accidental escape, as if their integrity and uprightness had been positively proved and established in the opinion of their country. Here, he said, he would rest the point for the present, and hoped that the Honourable Gentleman would not oblige him to revive it again, nor do as he had often done before, that is to say, make a watch-word of it, and by the most unfair and insidious means propagate and pass it current throughout the world, as if it had never been contradicted, the most unjust and unmanly way of sapping fair fame and reputation that any one could devise. The Honourable Gentleman had said much of spies and informers. It was a melancholy consideration to reflect, that such men were often necessary, and he feared they would be more wanting than ever in the situation in which the politics of the Honourable Gentleman and his friends were likely to plunge the country. The Honourable Gentleman who, in all things, was more than commonly shrewd and acute, had the most extraordinary faculties he ever knew any one to possess for the purpose of raising groundless charges, and the most extraordinary industry and art in giving them circulation: one, he said, he would particularly mention,—

one originating in falsehood, and afterwards circulated with a wicked industry, which spoke too plainly to be misunderstood, what their drift was who managed it. The expression was the well-known hackneyed "*Perish Commerce.*" It was necessary, he thought, to refer to the many revivals of it, which the malignity and wicked designs of some men had occasioned —after being made a handle of in various quarters, all of which he suffered to pass in contemptuous silence; he again found it revived in a letter published a few days ago by a person of too great rank to be overlooked (Lord Lauderdale). Two years ago, Mr. Windham observed, this falsehood was first circulated, and what would tend to develope the intentions of the calumniators, it was most carefully disseminated where it was supposed to be most likely to do him injury: it was in short printed, and stuck up in the workshops of Norwich, to alienate the affections of the people from him, and persuade them that he was their worst enemy; again it was brought up in the house against him by those who well knew in their hearts that the expression was not his. But he was silent, and that silence was taken for an admission of the fact. — "Now, Sir," said he, "what will you think, if you shall see that this has been brought up again in this volume which I hold in my hand, stamped with the authority of a Noble Peer? (*Vide* Letters to the Peers of Scotland, by the Earl of Lauderdale, page 18.) Did not the Noble Writer know, that the charge was publicly and unjustly attributed to me? and did he not intend, by the way he puts it here,

that it should be applied to me, and considered as my words — if not, what did he mean?"

MAJOR MAITLAND rose and said, he should not have troubled the house, and most particularly to interrupt the Right Honourable Gentleman, did he not believe he could save some time to the house by explaining the case; the Noble Earl, a relation of his, had asked him, if it was that Right Honourable Gentleman who had made use of that expression which was reported to have come from authority; he informed his noble relation it was not, and the expression had never been applied to that Right Honourable Gentleman. The Colonel said, he trusted that the character of that Noble Earl for candour, sincerity, and honour, was such as not to entitle any man in that house, or this country, to suspect him of doing any thing that was illiberal.

Mr. Windham continued — I am rather surprised at the explanation, as it confirms the full extent of my charge, which is, that the noble author of the work knew that the sentiment had been falsely imputed to me, and yet sent it forth to the world under the authority of his name uncontradicted. In the same work there is another passage to the same effect, which, noticing the Rockingham party, says, that the Duke of Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and some others, attended meetings for a Parliamentary Reform; which, as far as relates to myself, I deny, and believe unfounded as to the rest. I challenge any one to assert that I ever, either in or out of parliament, contended for that object, which

I cannot but regard as a degeneration instead of a Reform of Parliament. In this house I have uniformly opposed it; and before I had the honour of a seat here, I refused to stand for the city of Westminster, though I might have been returned, because I knew the inhabitants at that time were attached to schemes of Reform. These facts being notorious, I am at a loss to perceive the candour and fairness of the Noble Lord in circulating reports which he must know to be unfounded. This system of misrepresentation is in my mind much more injurious, than that so much complained of about spies and informers. There is no calculating the evil which it may produce in times of trouble and commotion. It was thus, that early in the French Revolution, Foulon was massacred, because it was reported that he had said, "he would make the people eat grass." The influence and dangerous tendency of these *party catch-words* could not be stronger exemplified than in the hackneyed phrase of "Swinish Multitude;" the sense of which expression was completely distorted from that in which it was applied, in the beautiful passage where it was originally made use of. Can any one doubt what was intended by this gross and unmanly perversion of its meaning, if, unfortunately for this country, the party that perverted it had obtained their ends, and fully seated themselves in power? On one point of the Honourable Gentleman's main argument I cannot forbear some remarks. He says, that the persons tried are completely innocent, because they are acquitted. Does he mean then totally to disregard the

presumption of guilt which was cast on them by the finding of the Grand or Accusing Jury? Setting this aside, is there any doubt but that the verdict of a jury pronounces only that the parties were not in a legal sense guilty? But there is a vast medium between legal guilt and moral innocence; and besides, there might be various stages even of legal guilt short of the specific charge brought against them. As a legislative body, however, we are not to seek the verdict of a jury to guide us, we must look to presumption and probability, and govern our conduct by their evidence. The Honourable Gentleman, in the same spirit of misrepresentation, has made me deny the distresses of the poor, and sympathised himself as usual in an extraordinary degree with the poor of Norwich; whereas, I appeal to the recollection of the house, whether I did not bar and anticipate this misconception and application to the poor of that town. I said, that the distresses of the war were not great, and that those who most loudly complained of them had not felt their pressure at all, not so much as in the relinquishment of the most trifling luxury; and between the rich and poor there is an indissoluble bond and mutual dependance. They are not separate interests, but one, neither of which can be affected without operating in the same proportion on the other. My assertions are thus answered. I said, that a certain description of people had not felt the burden of which they had complained. He answers me, that others do. I said, that no burdens were at present felt. He answers me, that they will be felt. What

course of candour and fair reasoning is a match for this shifting subtlety; Is it, I ask, a culpable degree of aristocracy, to deny the competence of the lower orders of society in questions of peace and war? The direct object of any war must be allowed trifling, compared to the expence of men and treasure, which the most successful termination could be estimated at. It is the remote and complicated objects of war that form the justification of the measure, and neither the ability nor information of the poor enable them to be fit judges of these subjects. It was the great art of people who pretended to think otherwise, to rouse the passions of the people, and not to inform or exercise their judgments, for which they had in fact the most sovereign contempt. In any war which those gentlemen might or ever had approved, would they consult those opinions which they now thought proper to exalt into consequence for purposes of their own? They ask where is the conspiracy, and deny its existence, because there is not legal and technical proof. They contend that there is no danger, because the danger happens not to fall within the precise line of former example. Whereas the danger now is entirely of the novel kind. A new order of things is looked for, and every previous right and established law is regarded as antiquated prejudice, and inimical to the interests of the people. But can Gentlemen, after expatiating on the precise limits of antient treason, turn short round and say, that there is no danger, because it is not precisely of that kind which ancient experience pointed out, and guarded against? In those days, the life of

the Monarch was in danger directly, and that offence was dreaded, and guarded against." Now we have to look to the base and insidious incitement of the lower orders, as the prevailing vice. Every bad and restless passion is called forth under pretence of right and reason. The natural and inevitable distress, which is inherent under all governments, is made the ground of accusation against that constitution which secures to us the least proportion of those evils which ever existed in one community. I mean not to impute any censure to the jurymen who acquitted the persons accused, as the charge was apparently remote from the death of His Majesty; and plain and honest men are not always possessed of that strength and search of understanding which is necessary to detect cunning and concerted fraud. Many shades of distinction might reasonably be supposed to occur to them from the length and intricacy of the case, and wherever doubt occurs, a jury is universally inclined to acquit. It is curious, however, to remark, that when the report of the secret committee was brought forward, it was said, what is your proof, where is your evidence of the facts? And from the silence on these heads it was inferred, that no proof existed. Now the facts, however, are established upon oath, yet fresh objections are instantly stated. On my part, I cannot wish for a more complete refutation of all these patriotic doubts and surmises relative to the plots, than the bare and simple reading of the documents produced in evidence. In this much-vaunted respect for the verdict of a jury, I think that I perceive something of a con-

fined view; for this verdict seems only immaculate and conclusive when it acquits, and instantly when it convicts, its whole nature is changed; *eo instanti* the jury become, as by the touch of a magic wand, transformed into a packed set of hirelings. Who can forbear this observation, who sees the same man celebrate the jury who acquitted Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, who had before thought so little of the jury that had condemned Watt and Downie, though their verdict was backed by the confession of the convict, in a state when every man's word was taken, namely, on the point of death. In all the praises of verdicts, this verdict had, by some strange accident, been kept out of sight. We state that there have been plans and views, call them conspiracies, or by any other name, of the most mischievous nature, to stir up and incite the poor to dissatisfaction and tumult, and finally to insurrection and plunder.* But who shall want converts, who tell the poor that the rich are usurpers, and that they have a right to reprisals? Should this be said only to exist in theory, we recur to the practice of a great nation, who had more than realised the most terrible expectations of the most timid. These modern engineers knew better than to attack the life of a king directly, and therefore think to elude the provisions of the statutes of treason; they, on the contrary, approach the walls of the town by regular siege, and the Honourable Gentleman contends that we are from the walls to see them, without molestation, complete their works and prepare their mines. To satisfy us of the great prudence and propriety of this conduct,

he adverts to a novel and extravagant philosophical doctrine of national character, which he thinks totally unconnected with soil and situation; but did it never occur to him, that whatever influence government may have on character, character originally modifies government, and is therefore the prime cause of the ultimate effect. Among other paradoxes he seems to have found out, that nations have no character in common, and are not to take any example from each other.

In speaking of the present corruption and depravity of France, he refers all to the effect of the old government; whereas we find that these effects increase in the exact proportion as the new government recedes from the old, and becomes distinctly established. This paradox, however, is not new with the Honourable Gentleman, of attributing all the errors and excesses of the present state of France to the ancient Government, and he seems to adhere to it with all the phrenzy and fondness which men usually shew to their most extravagant opinions. If, indeed, this deplorable effect were owing to the old government of France, we should see its effect follow up closely the destruction of that system; whereas nothing could be greater than the exit of that government which now lies buried under the ruins of all that was excellent in the country. The Honourable Gentleman has another solution also for this difficulty, namely, the war. The war, he says, has conduced to this state of savage desperation in which we find France. But why, it might be asked, have not other wars and similar difficulties

produced the same effect in other nations? Because they were not debased and corrupted by the governments which directed them. This is, however, the poor and common resort of all empirics. If the case does not succeed, it is from this thing or that, and every thing but their own ignorance and want of skill. They were called in too late, the previous treatment was bad, and killed the patient before they came. Mean, paltry, and unworthy argument!

The Honourable Gentleman asks if the example of the people of France is more to be dreaded here than that of Kings in Europe, whom with him we might have been induced to call despots, if the liberty of France had not buried all former despotism in the excess of its cruelty and oppression. Triumphant as this argument may seem, nothing is more easily answered. If you reduce the people of this country to the miserable state of the people of France, they will act the same, from the operation of the paramount and leading features of our nature. So, if you reduce a King of England to the state of the monarchs of Europe, he will act the same. What we deplore and deprecate, is the attempt by sly and insidious means to seduce the people of this country from the noble and honest character they had for ages possessed. The main question between us now is, whether these associations honestly and really proposed, however erroneously, a parliamentary reform, as it is called, or, under that pretence, the utter subversion of the constitution? Let any man look to the evidence on the late trials, and say honestly from his heart which was in view.

There was another object of the Honourable Gentleman's animadversion and censure, which however was so general and loose, that I find not so much difficulty in answering as in understanding it. Some charges can no more be replied to, than the scolding of a fishwoman in Billingsgate. Does the Honourable Gentleman mean to say that it is dishonourable to accept of office?—[No, from the other side.] No! Then if he gives up that, he gives up all that he has advanced on that subject. The calumnies cast on such things are only to be resisted by the shield of character; to that my Noble Friends and I resort. I am truly sorry the Honourable Gentleman is not ashamed of such low, mean traffic. I defy him to shew a single circumstance that can tend to cast the shadow of doubt on our conduct. The malice of the design is so corrected by the impotency of the effort, that I will not sacrifice a word in answering it. The Honourable Gentleman has asked me why I did not continue, as at first, to give honourable support to ministers, without joining them? Would not support, without responsibility annexed to it, be mean, be dishonest? In fact, if I had not come into an ostensible office, where would the Honourable Gentleman have found that responsible character with which he threatens me in future. Of these personal allusions I can only recollect one more, namely, that if I took an ostensible office, I should have resigned the emolument of it. Does he mean this as a general principle; and if not, why is the exception to be made? As often as this notion has been agitated, it has as often

been rejected by the best and wisest of men, and all attempts to reduce it to practice have been regarded as a mean and paltry lure to popularity. He is called upon, therefore, to explain himself more fully on this head, and should disdain to come forward with dark assertions, which he dare not openly avow. I think I have now noticed all the parts of the Honourable Gentleman's speech, which had a personal allusion, either to me or the eminent characters who came into office at the same time. The more general topics of his speech I shall leave to the refutation, as I promised in my outset, of those who are equally ready and more able than I am.

Mr. Hardinge followed Mr. Windham, and declared that the sentiment of "Perish Commerce, let the Constitution live," had proceeded from him, and not from Mr. Windham.

Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan supported the motion; Serjeant Adair opposed it. On a division, there appeared,

For the motion - -	41
Against it - -	185
Majority -	144

MOTION FOR PEACE.

May 27, 1795.

MR. WILBERFORCE moved, "That it is the opinion of "this House, that the present circumstances of France ought "not to preclude the Government of this country from entertain- "ing proposals for a general pacification; and that it is for the "interest of Great Britain to make peace with France, pro- "vided it can be effected on fair terms, and in an honourable "manner."

The motion having been seconded,

MR. WINDHAM (Secretary at War) said, that the house had now heard the reasons urged by the Honourable Mover and Seconder, in support of a motion so extraordinary, both in itself and in relation to the sentiments and declarations which had formerly been adopted by those Honourable Gentlemen, in conjunction with a great majority of that house. He agreed as to the propriety of bringing forward questions at different periods of a war, whether, under any change of circumstances that might have taken place, it was adviseable to proceed in the prosecution of the contest. The point then to be discussed was, whether any such change had taken place? He affirmed that no such change had taken place, or at least none which ren-

dered peace in the present moment preferable to the prosecution of the war. He remarked that in every argument it was necessary to consider those with whom we were arguing. In the present instance, then, it was necessary for him to consider whether he was arguing with those who, in its commencement, had considered the present war as just and necessary, or, in other words, as just, because it was necessary,—who had reprobated the doctrines of the French, and wished the destruction of the system which they were attempting to establish; or with those who had opposed the war from its outset,—who had approved the doctrines of the French,—who had held out the example of their revolution as most glorious,—who had wished success to their exertions, and had even openly professed that the establishment of the Republic was an event desirable to mankind. It was evident that the question, as taken in relation to those opposite opinions, must be argued upon grounds entirely different, and it was only to the latter description of persons that he meant to address himself. In every question respecting peace two things were to be considered, which the Honourable Gentleman had not kept sufficiently distinct in the course of his argument: first, what sort of peace was to be gained; and, secondly, what were the means of gaining it? The Honourable Mover seemed too much to consider peace as peace. He seemed to think that the moment the treaty was signed we should be at liberty to disband our armies, that prosperity would of course return, and that we should enter immediately upon a career of tranquillity and affluence. On that subject, said Mr.

Windham, I differ from him most widely; he thinks peace, in the present moment, safe and honourable; I think it neither safe nor honourable. But here I cannot help remarking, that the Honourable Gentleman is a sort of constitution-monger; and that he declared, upon a former occasion, that he would give to France the same constitution as that of America. The Honourable Gentleman would give them a constitution, as if it were a ready-made house, which could be transported without inconvenience from one place to another, and as if every government did not grow out of the habits, the prejudices, the sentiments, and the affections of the people.—[A loud cry of "Hear! hear!" from the bench of Opposition.]—He would give them a constitution, as children, who had surrounded a twig with a quantity of dirt, would think that they had planted a tree. Some questions he wished to ask, as to the means of attaining peace. And first he would ask, was to express a desire of peace on the part of this country the best means of attaining it? How far ought the inclination for peace manifested by France to operate as an inducement to this country to come forward, and manifest its dispositions for the same purpose? How far would this inclination for peace in France be likely to grow and increase in consequence of our keeping aloof, and abstaining from any declaration that might indicate a reciprocity of sentiment? Mr. Windham asked what change had taken place in the state of France since the subject was last under consideration, which tended to render any negociation for peace more secure? A great change had indeed taken place, but

none which rendered any prospect of peace permanent; the government was not become more durable, nor was the character of the people changed: he did not at present see any reason why they might not return to the spirit of domination, and the spirit of proselytism, which had formerly rendered them so dangerous. The present boasted system of moderation acquired all its praise only from being contrasted with the former infamous proceedings of the Government. It is moderate, it is true; but how is it moderate? It is moderate only in comparison with the preceding plans of terror, murder, and proscription. Compared with other governments, the government of France is still distinguished for injustice, violence, and insult; or admitting, for the sake of argument, that it were not so, is it possible to prophesy how long it may be before such a system may return?

But here let us examine, said he, in what manner this change was produced. They have been brought down to talk the language of moderation, and therefore their moderation is the result of necessity. They are relaxed in their circumstances, their vigour is weakened, and their courage crippled. If they had the desire to revive their former atrocities, they have not now the power, and it is our duty to prevent them. Their fortune has reached its flood, and is now ebbing fast away. The symptoms of decay are manifest, and the pulse that raged so violently will soon no longer beat. He remarked, that though the Honourable Mover had demanded a precise answer, he had not encouraged it by bringing forward any thing precise in his own statement. He had given it as his opinion that the distress

in the interior of France was not great. He had thought that since the communication had begun to be open, there was such a body of evidence with respect to the existence of that distress, as could not well have been resisted, and that the confessions of the extreme hardships suffered from the depreciation of assignats, and the scarcity of provisions, were too frequent and notorious to be in any degree invalidated. The Honourable Gentleman talked of recent reports as to disturbances in Paris, of the truth of which he seemed to intimate some doubt. They might not indeed be true to the extent to which they had been stated; they had, however, now been reported upon the authority of public papers, and the Right Honourable Gentleman who called their existence in question might as well dispute the accounts of the massacres at Paris, or the ravages of the guillotine. Was it to be treated as a matter of slight report that the mob had broke into the august body of the Convention, — that the members had been forced to fly, — that the head of one of their number had been cut off, — and that, with the head in their hand, the mob had addressed a speech to the President of the Convention? Little hope could be entertained of the permanency and duration of that Government which had not efficient means of protection and defence against such violence and outrage; and as to the supposition of these accounts being bare reports, the Honourable Gentleman had forgotten that, while he treated them so, he had himself brought forward uncertain reports of a treaty of peace between the French Republic and Spain, as well as certain Princes of Germany.

The Honourable Gentleman had also considered the events that had happened since the propriety of a negociation was last discussed. Whether the conduct of the enemy was different now to what it was then, could not be easily decided; he had stated, however, that there was an increase of power on their part, and a proportionate decrease on ours, or, what is nearly tantamount, that as our alliances were weakened, their alliances grew stronger. One prominent object, the defection of our allies, was particularly expatiated on by the Honourable Gentleman. To such a declaration Mr. Windham opposed one broad leading consideration—the state of distress and state of opinions now prevalent in France. Nothing, he affirmed, but the conduct held out by the Honourable Gentleman, and such motions as that which he had now brought forward, could prevent a speedy termination of the contest in which we were now engaged. Here, he confessed, there was nothing but assertion against assertion, appeal against appeal. He then adverted to the reasoning employed by the Honourable Gentleman, in order to induce the country to snatch at the first opportunity for peace. He had affirmed, that its extent of territory was too great to be protected; that its burdens were too severe to be borne: he had insinuated that the country was come to that pitch of prosperity which it was well if it could keep, but in which every risk might be attended with fatal consequences. He would maintain that such language was never heard before upon any similar business in that house; nor would the country have ever risen to such a pitch of honour, glory,

and universal reputation as it has done, if such had been the language of our predecessors.—The Honourable Gentleman should have recollected, too, that this reasoning is not confined to the present war, but extends to other wars in future. He has openly proclaimed, that our burthens have increased to their utmost, that we have no means of defence, that our people are rebellious, and our armies ready to assist them. We have reached the climax of our grandeur, and may now supinely repose ourselves, nor even attempt to support it, for it must necessarily decline. In former times our arms protected our commerce, but now we are come to the full enjoyment of our industry, and we call upon our enemy not to disturb us; leave us as we are, leave us well, or if you do not, we are not possessed of means to defend ourselves. This was one of the arguments which the Honourable Gentleman had pretended to touch on lightly. He would not speak out, he said, and there was no necessity to press him, for he was perfectly intelligible. But Mr. Windham said he could not help noticing the inconsistency which commonly prevailed in this mode of reasoning, where the arguments were shifted, as occasion prompted, to suit the purpose of the speaker. Sometimes they declaimed on the loyalty of His Majesty's subjects, and sometimes they proclaimed them to be nearly infected with the contagion of the French Republicans. To what could such proceedings tend, but to lay the country prostrate at the feet of the enemy? Read the various declarations of France against this country, and then judge

of their inclination to induce us to make peace. In a discourse lately delivered to the Convention, they state, "that they will make no concessions to Great Britain, nor will they offer any terms of accommodation. They are not afraid of war, and are therefore determined to continue it until they have reduced the pride and power of this haughty country." Are we to sit down contented with such indignities, such insults, and such aggravation? And here is another odd inconsistency in the arguments on the other side: When they vindicate this conduct, they assert, that the war produces these atrocities; but when they argue for peace, then they say, "Leave them to themselves, and they will destroy one another." What then will be the situation of France when peace is made? There will be an internal dissension in their government, which must ultimately produce a popular commotion; the armies too will return, and assist to keep up the internal warfare. If we have sagacity enough to discover that such must be the consequences of their making peace, may they not have sufficient sagacity to perceive the same, and will they not instantly seek new wars to keep their armies employed, and prevent such calamities? The fact is too notorious for comment. How could the Honourable Gentleman delude himself so? Does he not know, that with such a government, so feeble, so precarious, so insecure, we can have no stability? And does he not know that if the war should be renewed again, after an interval of peace of the shortest duration, that it requires a greater impulse, a greater energy through-

out the nation, and is attended also with a greater expence? For it is in moral as in mechanical powers, a strong force is necessary to put the machine in motion, which continues its velocity with little aid. There was one of the Honourable Gentleman's arguments, said Mr. Windham, which I had almost forgotten. He has taken care, however, to remind me, and I am glad of it. I suspect my observations will contain more than he expected. He has reminded me of La Vendée and the Chouans. Now let the Gentlemen opposite to me recollect the language they have used, compared with the event. (A cry of "hear! hear!") Let them remember that they tenaciously insisted that France had but one sentiment. The Honourable Gentleman opposite will call to mind too what he formerly said. "Do you," said he, "do you count on Brittany and Normandy?" Yes, the executive Government did count on them, and proposed to adopt such measures as would better facilitate that event which was so universally desired. When dissensions were said to exist in the internal state of France, it was asked where? At Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and La Vendée; and well would it have been for this country if she had immediately taken the proper advantage of those dissensions, and converted them to her purposes. They were lost, however; though it might be said they could not have been lost if they were not possest. Mr. Windham supposed the Gentlemen were laughing at their own declarations that no such dissensions existed, when discontent, distrust, and animosity were carried to the greatest length.

He then reverted to the Honourable Gentleman's statement of the condition of Marseilles, and observed that it was not because that under such a tyranny as that of France dissensions do not shew themselves, that we are to conclude that they do not exist. We might have had reasons to know their existence if we had acted with becoming caution, and instead of one La Vendée, we might have known that the whole of France was becoming one entire Vendée. He then referred to the subjugation of the Vendéans and the Chouans. At one time, it had been asked, have you any friends in France? Has the new system any enemies? Are not all the people of that country united in the same sentiment? The boast which was now made of the triumph over the insurgents now proved the reality of the danger which had once existed. But, though these people had submitted to hard necessity, it was not to be supposed that they had all at once changed their sentiments: and it proved also that there still existed a body of good sentiments in France. He addressed this not solely to the Gentlemen opposite, but to those Gentlemen who had confidence in the executive Government at this time: and now, when from the interior of France we had reports of popular commotions coming from all quarters, was it longer just or reasonable to doubt their authenticity; and if this representation be right, was this the time for such conclusions as the Honourable Gentleman had drawn? The first argument of the Honourable Gentleman was, that peace would establish the power of those, who now preside in France; and what sort of

an argument was this? Would it establish the power? Were there hopes it would? Was the Honourable Gentleman prepared to say, that the change of Government had so far changed the evil, as solely to have produced the alteration in his sentiments? If it could, why could it not have done so before, in the administration of the bloody Robespierre? According to their mode of reasoning, war could be reduced at any time to a scale of profit and calculation. Stating generally his opinions on the subject, he saw the motives for continuing the war the same — the prospects better. Another objection, applying to the majority of the house, against the motion, was, that if it passed, the house would thereby take the management out of the hands of the Executive Government. This the house had certainly at times a right to do; but then it was usual, when they assumed that right, to apply to His Majesty to displace the persons in whom the trust of the executive Government was lodged. Fortunately the motion was not yet adopted. But nevertheless the charge of inconsistency and rashness, if not something worse, was attached to it; for the Honourable Gentleman who brought it forward was the friend of the minister, and had pronounced in the course of that evening many eulogiums upon him. He relied, he said, on his talents, his integrity and judgment; he praised his general capacity, and he esteemed him as the properest person to be at the head of affairs: but here comes the difficulty — However great his general capacity, his judgment, his integrity and talents, and however fit for administration,

he was not fit to conduct the business of the State, and therefore the Honourable Gentleman proposed to conduct it for him. He would not offer to displace his friend, but he would undertake to manage measures for him. Did he think the minister would authorize him to perform his functions? The Honourable Gentleman would allow for these interrogations by the part he had taken himself in the debate of that evening. He must know, that in all public affairs they were bound to follow their duty in preference to their friendships; and for his own part, Mr. Windham said, he had sacrificed friendships that were dear to him, to his public duty, and he did it because he loved to follow right, though it be sometimes difficult to find where it lies. The Honourable Gentleman had done so too, though Mr. Windham disapproved of the mode in which he had done it. A Christian conscience was understood to be connected with humility, but the Honourable Gentleman had been opposing those of whose integrity and abilities he entertained no doubt, and with whom he was bound in the close ties of friendship. Now he wished to impress on the Honourable Gentleman's mind, that he was playing a deep game; for if he was not the preserver, he was the undoer of his country: and if he did not obtain the posthumous fame he so virtuously desired, he would be transmitted to posterity with eternal execration. He wished him to consider too, how far he conformed himself to the sentiments of those whose mode of thinking he had been accustomed to oppose; or how far he adopted new opinions of his own. There

are two things to confirm a man's judgment, the concurrence of his friends, and the dissent of his enemies. Now, the Honourable Gentleman had been playing at great odds, for he had not only the dissent of his friends, but the approbation of his opponents. He had the odds against him also in another way. In every exclusive public concern, but more particularly in a war, and still more in a war like the present, there was a knowledge in the executive Government which could not be possessed by others. Of this he had just given an instance, though opposition would neither give the executive Government credit for their good intentions nor their judgment. It was not grateful for him to examine opinions, though he did it to fulfil his public duty. If the Honourable Gentleman thought his measures fatal, he thought the Honourable Gentleman's no less so. Such opinions he conceived, if listened to, were highly dangerous, and if not listened to, they were so in a smaller degree. Admitting that the Honourable Gentleman's were the best opinions, he asked him whether he expected them to be followed? What then, it might be urged on the other hand, are you never to bring forward any motion because there is a probability it will not be followed? What then becomes of the freedom of debate? Not so; an attempt in itself to do good may be made, though others think it will not do so. But did the Honourable Gentleman think, that when persons like those in the Executive Government had formed their opinions coolly, and with due deliberation, that his arguments could change them? Perhaps he

hoped for something intermediate? With respect to other topics, Mr. Windham said, they were not of a sort to be adopted without abandoning all the former. He had heard the Honourable Gentleman talk of a general objection to the war, and of a general sentiment entertained by the people that a peace would speedily be formed by the administration of the country. If such a peace were formed, that is, by the administration of the country, they ought all to rejoice, but not otherwise, for it would then be obtained as it ought to be. On the other hand, what did the Honourable Gentleman propose? A peace by himself in opposition to administration. The best argument in answer to such a proposition was a review of history. The Honourable Gentleman had taken occasion in the course of his speech to extol the blessings of peace, and to deprecate continental connexions. With respect to the blessings of peace, abstractly considered, there could be but one sentiment; as to the utility of continental connexions, he referred him to the testimony of the history of the country for many centuries past. Were we to be supposed now to be arrived at that period in which we were to lose all regard for military character, and seek only to retain our former acquisitions? Were we to renounce all views of general policy, and attend only to the claims of petty gain and mercantile advantage? Were we to forfeit our reputation of national honour, and of a generous concern for the welfare of Europe? It may be honourable, in the opinions of some Gentlemen, to steal out of a war as others had done; but it would be degrad-

ing to the British character, justly celebrated for its honour and integrity. Great Britain had no wish to imitate the Republic of Holland or the Duchy of Tuscany, but left them to their virtue. How different, he observed, was the conduct the Honourable Gentleman had recommended to that pursued by King William, who judged the interests of this country to be so closely connected with all Europe, that he encouraged every alliance whereby she rose in the scale of Empire, and of this Mr. Addison was sensible when he wrote his fine eulogium:

" His toils, for no ignoble ends design'd,
" Promote the common welfare of mankind;
" No wild ambition moves, but Europe's fears,
" The cries of orphans, and the widow's tears;
" Oppress'd Religion gives the first alarms,
" And injur'd Justice sets him in her arms;
" His conquests freedom to the world afford,
" And Nations bless the labours of his sword."

Whether the Honourable Gentleman had not brought forward his motion to interpose, because the French Government was faint and languid, and her movements wild and irregular, he could not determine, but he reminded him she might be dangerous even in her last convulsion.

Mr. Windham then entered into a variety of arguments on what he conceived to be the fatal consequences of the present motion, as tending to influence the opinions of persons at home, and to strengthen and encourage the hands of the enemy. He said, that the cry of peace chiefly proceeded from the Jacobin

party in the country; and that though every one who wished for peace was not a Jacobin, yet every Jacobin wished for peace. The same disposition for peace, he remarked, to be characteristic of the Jacobins, not only in this country, but over the whole of Europe. He concluded with stating, that as the Honourable Gentleman had declared, that in bringing forward his motion, he had been actuated by a sense of duty, he had no less felt the same motive for opposing it, and that he should therefore move the order of the day.

Sir Benjamin Hammet seconded the motion for the order of the day; Mr. Fox supported the original motion, and Mr. Pitt opposed it. The house then divided on the motion for the order of the day:

Ayes - - -	201
Noes - - -	86
Majority -	115

Mr. Wilberforce's motion was consequently lost.

TAX ON DOGS.

April 25, 1796.

THE order of the day being read for the commitment of the Dog Tax Bill, Mr. Dent (with whom the bill had originated) moved, "That the Speaker should leave the chair." Mr. Sheridan opposed the Bill.

MR. WINDHAM (Secretary at War) said he did not mean to object to the whole of the bill, but to part of it only. He thought a tax upon all sporting dogs fair, because they are a kind of luxury, and their owners can afford to pay. But he thought there was a passion, spleen, and enmity, against the canine race, in the formation of the bill, that amounted really to a principle of extirpation. From the tenor of it he should have been apt to imagine that Actæon had revived, or that some fabulous divinities had descended to pronounce an eternal ban and curse on the whole race of dogs. They certainly at times were disagreeable, and he had felt that inconvenience; but he should have been loath to have gone, in consequence, to avenge himself on the whole species. It was unworthy of this or any other country, to levy a

rate on any animal, because that animal was not employed in tilling ground, or because the poor might feed on dog's provisions. It appeared as if there was not room enough on earth for men and dogs. The Honourable Gentleman had entered into several calculations to shew the number of dogs and the quantity of provisions they consumed; but he seemed to forget that there was a great quantity of waste which they destroyed, which, if they were annihilated, would become a greater nuisance. He seemed to imagine, that all the refuse, now given to dogs, would go to human creatures. No such thing; for they consume a great quantity of offal, which could not well be otherwise disposed of, and consequently his calculation of the quantity of provisions was exceedingly erroneous. He had also excited an alarm upon this head, by observing that population increases with provision. So it does, but not if there be a greater quantity of provisions than the consumers require. How much of the produce of the earth goes to other purposes than the food of man? Does not the Honourable Gentleman himself give to his coach-horses and his saddle-horses, what would serve for human food? But when you consider the sustenance of men, you are to consider their comforts and enjoyments also; or if you do not, we shall revert to rudeness and barbarism. Now, as to that part of the bill which related to the dogs of the poor, his objections were too numerous to be repeated. Some dogs are retained by the poor as implements of trade, and the Legislature ought not to tax the industry, but the expenditure, of the people. Some were retained

for their companionable qualities; and when the fidelity and winning attachment of a dog was remembered, it was unkind to propose a plan which should tend to destroy him. Dogs kept for sporting, were peculiar to the rich, and though he did not mean to arraign sporting, he thought it not the highest sort of amusement, inasmuch as it reduced the hunter to the condition of the animal he hunted. With the rich, it might be taxed; but with the poor, the affection for a dog was so natural, that in poetry and painting it had been constantly recorded, and in any sort of domestic representation, we scarcely see a picture without a memorial of this attachment. If the rich man feels a partiality for a dog, what must a poor man do, who has so few amusements? — A dog is the companion of his laborious hours; and when he is bereft of his wife and children, fills up the dreary vacuity. It is a well-known fact, that Alexander Selkirk, upon whose narrative the story of Robinson Crusoe was founded, cultivated the society of every animal upon the island, except those which he was obliged to kill for food. This was his greatest satisfaction, and a dog affords a similar satisfaction to the poor. Would the house then sacrifice that honest, virtuous satisfaction? An Honourable Gentleman behind him (Mr. Buxton) disapproved of any difference between the poor and rich, because he wished for equality, forgetting that equal burdens are laid upon unequal means, and that they ought to be proportioned in the same manner as rewards and punishments. — But although he wished the tax to be levied upon sporting dogs, he was a

friend to the game laws, and to aristocratical distinctions; and he thought all the arguments that had been urged against the game laws were recommendations in their favour, provided they were not oppressive. He did not think that poor men kept dogs for the destruction of game, and he lived in a game county where he was qualified to judge; besides if a poacher wanted a dog for that purpose, he could afford to pay for it; so that, extending the tax to the poor, would be no protection to the game. As to the worrying of sheep, the dogs commonly kept by poor people were too small; for the dogs that worry sheep are pointers, hounds, lurchers, guard-dogs, &c. and whenever they are once guilty of that vice, they will never leave it off till they are destroyed; but, dead or alive, they hunt the animal, and have been known to tear the skins in tanners' yards. He was in perfect conformity with his Honourable Friend, when he did not wish to levy any assessment on the poor; for if people, distressed as some were who kept dogs, would deprive themselves of part of their food to keep a dog, that was the best proof of the value of the animal, and he knew, if they were assessed, how likely they would be to be taken up by the parish officers. An Honourable Friend (Mr. Buxton) had said, that no person who receives relief from the parish ought to be allowed to keep a dog. He differed from him in opinion, because the whole class of labourers are liable to apply for relief, on account of the unequal balance of their earnings and expenditure; for every accident or calamity subjects them to the necessity of making such applica-

tion. It would be cruel and impolitic to pass such a law; it is a sort of law, from which every man would revolt. The dog is a companion to a solitary man, and to a man with a family a play-fellow for his children; and these considerations induced him to wish that satisfaction to be preserved to the poor. He had been led on by the subject farther than he intended; but he could not think of sacrificing any man's feelings to any consideration of interest which had been held out from the extension of the tax.

Mr. Courtenay and Mr. Pitt opposed the Bill, which was thrown out without a division.

CASE OF M. DE LA FAYETTE.

December 16, 1796.

GENERAL FITZPATRICK *moved*, " *That an humble* " *Address be presented to His Majesty, to represent to His Ma-* " *jesty, that it appears to this House that the detention of General* " *La Fayette, Bureau de Pusy, and Latour Maubourg, in the* " *prison of His Majesty's ally, the Emperor of Germany, is* " *highly injurious to His Imperial Majesty, and to the common* " *cause of the allies; and humbly to implore His Majesty to* " *intercede in such manner as to his wisdom shall seem most pro-* " *per for the deliverance of these unfortunate persons.*"

Mr. Pitt thought that the House could not properly interfere on the subject. Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Grey supported the motion. Mr. Wilberforce moved, as an Amendment, " *That* " *an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, humbly to* " *submit to His Majesty the propriety of His Majesty's using* " *his good offices with his ally the Emperor of Germany, for the* " *liberation of the General La Fayette, and Messieurs Latour* " *Maubourg, and Bureau de Pusy.*" *Lord Hawkesbury was averse to both the original motion and the amendment. In reply to some observation made by Mr. Sheridan,*

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WINDHAM, Secretary at War, said, that, if he had not intended to speak, he must have risen on the irresistible invitation held out to him in the latter part of the speech of

the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last. He rose, however, not as that Honourable Gentleman had so pleasantly surmised, to reveal any thing that secretly lurked in the bosoms of ministers, but to tear the veil from the face of the Honourable Gentleman and his friends, and shew to the house and to the world what was the mysterious motive to their humanity; what it really was that put their feelings in motion, what it was that suggested to them the extraordinary notion of selecting the Marquis de la Fayette, and marking him out as an object whose misfortunes entitled him to the general sympathy of mankind. It was true, as the Honourable Gentleman had said, he had once or twice before risen from his seat with a determination to state to the house reasons which he thought would be unanswerable why the motion, as it stood in its original state, could not with propriety be granted. Other Gentlemen, however, had caught the Speaker's eye before him, and obliged him to sit down: a circumstance which, in the end, was rather favourable to his view, since it enabled him to state with much greater force, and equal certainty of success, his reasons why the motion should not be granted, either in its original or amended state; as he, in his wish to state the question largely, would have found some difficulty in selecting the points which it might have been necessary for him to press upon the consideration of the house; but which now lay in order before him, so that he should be able to compress them into a very narrow compass. The house had been called upon by the Honourable Gentleman, in a speech

of much ability, well calcultated, from its style and delivery, to excite emotions of pity in their breasts, for a most extraordinary, unusual, and great interposition on the plea of humanity. The questions that arose from this were — the weight of merit of the sufferer, the degree of humanity to which he was entitled, and the right he derived from them to be considered a fit subject for general humanity. Before he entered upon the discussion of these topics, he would say a word of the merit of this Gentleman who was the subject of the motion, as he stood with regard to this country. He had been one of the most active and irreconcileable enemies of England in the American Revolution. His visit to this country, immediately previous to that step, was at best not quite correct. It was hardly to be supposed that he would designedly go there, fresh from the hospitality and civilities of this country, if he had not had some view injurious to it. He mentioned this merely to show, that this Gentleman, who had been held out for our particular favour and interposition, was at best a perfect stranger to us; and could be viewed by us in no other light than as one of those who rose and fell in the course of the French Revolution.

Viewing him then only as a person bearing a share in that Revolution, he conceived there was nothing to be seen in him different from those ambiguous or worse men, who, in a spirit of perverted and unjustifiable ambition, introduced that fatal Revolution into their country, and paused when the ruin had been irretrievably done. To him, and those who thought

with him, that the authors of that Revolution had been the bitterest enemies of mankind, M. de la Fayette was no object of esteem or favour; and, if as a stranger he was to be considered at all, must be considered to disadvantage. With the Honourable Gentleman who made the motion, however, the Marquis stood in a different situation: there were ties between them of a personal kind — for in early life a friendship subsisted between them, which the Honourable General (much to his own credit, no doubt,) would not suffer to be lost or obliterated, when his friend was in difficulty and distress. While he bore this testimony to the Honourable Gentleman's heart, he must in justice bear testimony to his ability also; and particularly to the singular address which he displayed in urging, with all its force, those parts of the case which were most likely to kindle feelings of sympathy in his auditors, while he touched slightly upon that part which was weak and untenable, namely, the fact of the seizure of M. de la Fayette, as contrary to the law of nations. This question had been before discussed, and from the first mention of it, it had been, and still continued to be, his unalterable opinion, that whether on the point of his having ceased to act with hostility, or on the point of his having been taken up upon neutral ground, the arrest was not contrary to the law of nations or of justice: for he was taken in the character of an enemy, which he could not lay aside at will, when it served his purposes. When two nations were at war, it did not depend upon one party only when the war was to cease; nor was it competent to one country, or

any individual of either country, to divest himself of the character of an enemy, or claim the privileges of peace, without the concurrence of the other. It was certain, that the friend of our enemy was our enemy; but it did not follow that the converse of that was true, and that the enemy of our enemy was our friend. However the demands of personal safety, or the ruin of his ambitious schemes, had made the Marquis an enemy to the men who at that time filled the usurped government of France, his hostility to Austria was not less than before, nor was he competent to divest himself of it, all at once, for his own convenience. As to the question of his being taken on neutral ground, it was one with which neither of the contending parties had any thing to do. To the third, or neutral power, on whose territory he was taken, and to it alone, it belonged to complain of the act as an infraction of neutrality; so that neither France nor America, and still less England, had any thing to do with it. Viewing the transaction, therefore, in its own direct form, and in all its relations, there was no injustice in it with regard to the infraction of neutrality — no violation of the law of nations.

The Marquis de la Fayette was, therefore, to be considered by the house (since he was forced upon their deliberations) first, as a prisoner of war, under the ordinary law of nations, and next as a stranger to England — this last position no one could deny. He was not a native, nor had he been naturalized; he had never been in our service; he had never been even our prisoner; this country had no share in him

or his services; he was no inhabitant of any country which had been conquered and delivered up to the King of Great Britain; he was not one of those who embodied in the cause of their lawful Monarch and Government, or joined those who ranged under the banners of England, and were murdered in cold blood by their enemies; he never had even constructively put himself under the protection of this country; he had never been friendly to her interests. So that he was as completely separate from this country, its interests, or its favours, as any other person whatsoever on the face of the globe.

On the subject of the Marquis de La Fayette's merit in the Revolution he would say but little: it had, in fact, been so slenderly relied upon by the Honourable Gentleman, that it was unnecessary for him to enter much into it; but never, never should be forgotten his gross and criminal neglect in June 1789; never his conduct on the memorable 5th and 6th of October, in which there was clear and evident matter for condemnation, which, with the fate that subsequently attended him, should be an eternal lesson to all those who, actuated by similar motives of guilty ambition, would bring ruin on their country. When at the head of the National Guards, did he lead them, as was his duty, to the relief of his King? If he had not done so, what excuse could be offered for him? Would it be said, that he acted under the impression of terror for himself? If so, would they insist upon that as an excuse? or would they say, that he ought not to have risked his life. A soldier, honoured with such rank

and favour, commanding the guards, could not have fallen in a nobler cause. He ought, even though certain of death, to have encountered it in discharge of his duty, and expiated, in some sort, the great calamities his ambition had occasioned. His own excuse was, that he had no command over the guards; but what could be said of a man, who, having declared that he had no command over troops, continued nevertheless along with them? He should have retired, and in repentance endeavoured to atone for the ruins he had made. But no — It was well understood what part he played, and what end he had in view. After having amused the King with a promise that there was no danger, which threw him off his guard: after the palace had been forced, and the Royal Family placed in imminent danger, he appeared. Lulled into security by his promises, the King and Queen had gone to rest — the mob burst so suddenly into the palace, that Her Majesty was obliged to escape undressed. La Fayette said, that no farther violence would be offered; but when called for, was not in town. For how much mischief was he not answerable!

Having so far shewn the culpable conduct of M. la Fayette, Mr. Windham said he would now go to the great act of merit to which the friends of the Marquis had been obliged to resort for want of a better, and on which they seemed to lay so much reliance, as an act that was to redeem all that he had done before, viz. his merit in shaking and breaking down that constitution which had for ages existed, and which, though abused, was yet capable of reformation. Appeal had been

made to his conduct, in having saved the King from that very danger into which his machinations had betrayed him; to all which he (Mr. W.) gave no credit, nor, he believed, would the house, or any unprejudiced rational person — no, not an iota of credit farther than this, that his ambitious strides had brought him to a period at which he was obliged to stop; and that he refrained from his own factious proceedings only when a more furious faction threatened to overpower him. He would not say, for he did not believe, that La Fayette wished entirely to destroy the King, or to erect a Republic in the place of the Monarchy, but that he wished to lower the King to a state of dependence on himself, and to be, like Trincalo in the Tempest, "Vicery over him." To encounter such evidence of guilt, stronger proofs than any which had been adduced were necessary. Considering the temper and opinions of the Honourable Gentlemen opposite to him, it appeared somewhat extraordinary that they should be advocates for La Fayette. They might be supposed to forgive his "Treachery to his Sovereign the King," but how could they pardon him for the more abominable crime of "Treason to the Sovereign People?" This was one of the monstrous inconsistencies in which the conductors of Revolutions necessarily involved themselves. If La Fayette was fallen into misery, he had fallen the victim of his own act, and his own principles. He had brought himself into that state into which all fomenters of great and ruinous Revolutions must necessarily fall. He had betrayed and ruined his country and his King, and took refuge for his character and

conscience in his own defeat; claiming merit for stopping just at that point, beyond which it was out of his power to go; and then he became the enemy of those whom he had made the instrument of his designs upon the King. He was the first to bring destruction upon the Supreme Power, and the first that turned against the Jacobins. That he was the author of infinite calamities, no one would deny; of what his motives had been, there was no proof; but there was no more presumption in favour of his innocence, than there was in favour of any of the other persons who were concerned in that horrible transaction.

M. La Fayette, then, being thus proved to be, as to England, a total stranger, the question to which Mr. Windham proposed next to advert was, that of humanity, which, in point of fact, was the whole question of the night. With respect to the rigour with which that gentleman was described to have been treated, Mr. Windham declared he believed that there was much of exaggeration in it; but taken as a subject of humanity to work upon, he did not see how or why it should be separated, as it were, and selected from others. As the mere suffering of an individual, it must certainly excite pity; there was no case of calamity whatever, which, if seen abstracted from other considerations, but must excite the feelings of every one deserving the name of man. In this view all cases of suffering had a right to be considered; but was every case, public or private, to draw interposition in its behalf? Did Gentlemen look round, and consider the innumerable calamities that by the

wise dispositions of Providence beset human nature on every side, and offered so many subjects of appeal to our commiseration? Did they recollect how many, without offence or fault of magnitude, but merely under the influence of error, were drinking of the bitterest cup of life, to which it was impossible to extend interposition? Did they consider how many there were besides La Fayette, pining in confinement, for debt or for crime? To see or think of a human creature enduring the rigours of imprisonment, or being carried to the execution of that punishment which the laws award for the expiation of crime, abstractedly, must wring the heart of any man with sympathizing commiseration; but men should not, in such cases, consider the suffering separate from the causes and circumstances which occasioned it; humanity would kindle compassion; but reason must overrule that feeling in consideration of the cause.

This was the reigning practical fallacy by which questions of a very simple nature were attempted to be confounded. In the number of those who had produced the French Revolution, and followed it up with those enormities which had surpassed all that poets had ever fancied, there were many who, viewing their sufferings in naked abstraction, would excite compassion. For instance, that gentleman named Collot d'Herbois — he was condemned to Guiana, to which place vast numbers of the most learned and venerable men existing, the clergy of France, had also been condemned, for no other reason but because they refused to abjure their religion, deny their God,

and act in contradiction to their consciences. The place was chosen as that in which human nature would be most exposed to suffer, and every thing was done to render the natural evils of the country more dreadful and destructive. If we were to abstract the sufferings of the wretch from the crimes that led to it, we could not but wish him rescued from such misery. We should say, (perhaps as others may say in nearly similar cases,) "'Tis true, Collot d'Herbois killed many thousand people; 'tis true, that when the guillotines were insufficient, and the executioners were fatigued with putting them to death, he sent them, for more speedy dispatch, into a great square, where he fired upon them with cannon, and ordered in a party of cavalry to cut and trample to death the few who had escaped the guns; but 'tis also true, that the thing is passed; and that the men are in their graves, and cannot be brought to life again. Poor Collot! he is not the better for being in Guiana — What is the use of it — Let us send for him, and bring him home — How can men of feeling think of prolonging the punishment of poor Collot d'Herbois!"

This, Mr. Windham said, was a perfect illustration of that false humanity by which Gentlemen wished the house now to be guided; but he would tell them, that true humanity taught a different lesson, and interdicted the practice of that spurious imposture under the name of it, which they advised. Mankind were not formed to pity at once the oppressed and the oppressor; the choice of the Honourable Gentleman

opposite, was to take up and espouse the cause of the oppressor; but for his part, he would take up and espouse that of the oppressed.

He could not separate the idea of M. La Fayette from the millions who were suffering by his crimes. Did Gentlemen doubt it? Let them look into our streets, and see men equal to La Fayette in honour, in rank, in talents, in courage, in every valuable quality which his warmest advocates could boast that he possessed, exiled from home, ruined by the Revolution, of which he was the leader and instigator, and involved in misery, in wretchedness, and beggary, by his crimes. Did Gentlemen who urged this measure know, or rather, was it possible they should not know, that the opinion of all the best-informed men in France was, that M. La Fayette's conduct to the King was cruel, ferocious, and unmanly? And was it not universally known, from those who were in the confidence of the Queen of France, that that august and magnanimous personage often declared, he was the only man she could never forgive? She was often heard to say, she could forgive Barnave, nay, would interpose between him and the stroke of the executioner — but never could or would forgive La Fayette.

Having discussed these points, Mr. Windham said, he would now apply himself to a part which would bring the house nearer to the consideration of the propriety of interference.

Would the house, he asked, believe that the Emperor was unmindful of his consanguinity with the

royal sufferers under this man's plans? Could they suppose that that Monarch, knowing all that had been just stated to be true, could fail of harbouring a just indignation against the author of his near relation's calamities and death? And were we, without being apprized what his designs were, or what his actual treatment of La Fayette, to interpose with respect to his mode of treating the personal author of such crimes? Surely not; it would be not only impolitic and impertinent, as respecting ourselves, but extremely indecent and improper, as regarding His Imperial Majesty, to interpose in a case that lay so very near him.

In answer to an Honourable Gentleman on the bench behind him (Mr. Wilberforce), who had countenanced the motion by a speech and an amendment, and in whose opinion it was our duty to go about Europe to dictate rules of policy, he would say, that his sentiments had overleaped the distinction made by the Honourable Gentleman opposite to him, for the same pitiable representation and relief which they confined to one, he would extend to all; so that where was the work of the house in interference to stop?

While scenes of misery in gross and in detail surrounded us, and pressed upon our senses, whichsoever way we looked, how was it that Gentlemen were so cold and so callous, as never to be quickened into feeling but by the solitary case of Monsieur La Fayette? In the greater instances, when the worst horrors were going forward, when our ears were constantly assailed

with the cries of one half of France murdering the other, did the house forget that the very suspicion that those sufferings were the motives to our interference, was sufficient to render illegitimate all other causes of war; that this so vitiated it in Gentlemen's estimation, that the whole formula of their objections, construed into plainer language, was, that the war was unjust and detestable, because excited by feelings for such misery and destruction!

If Gentlemen wished for proper objects for the exercise of their humane feelings, let them look to thirty thousand priests pining in the prisons of France. They, however, thought more of that one man in the prison of Olmutz. There was, indeed, he said, something capricious and fanciful in their taste in objects of humanity. But of this it might be said, as of taste in other respects, to use an old Latin adage, *De gustibus non disputandum.*

Gentlemen boasted pretty largely of humanity and feeling, at the expence of others. Nothing was more mean or dishonest, than to endeavour to catch reputation by a display of virtue at other persons' cost; to be courageous on other men's valour; to be generous on other men's money; to be charitable and magnanimous at the expence of the feelings of others. Thus displayed, instead of virtues they were vices. Dean Swift says, "All men could bear the misfortunes of others with christian-like spirit." So these Gentlemen opposite were very liberal in forgiving injuries done to Austria and the Queen of France.

The merit of this, however, was not very striking. He had no hesitation in saying, that he felt very little consideration for the beginners of revolutions. M. de la Fayette had been the first to attack the ancient monarchy of France; and though he stopped short when he found that his own mischievous principles were turning against his views, though he had no objection to continuing the King upon his throne, provided that he might be Viceroy over him, yet he could not feel for a man who was the author of a conflict that led to such horrors. Well or ill intentioned, he had been the author of the attack on the ancient system, which led to all these massacres; and he should ever hold out as objects of marked reprobation, and of punishment, the beginners of revolutions. The mass who might follow them, the lower ranks of society, who, from various causes, might partake in the violence, were easy to be forgiven; but men of rank, who, from motives of ambition, originated revolutions of established governments in any country, were justly to be regarded with horror, and true humanity must be eager for their punishment. Besides, how could the house enter into all the views of the Emperor? There might be political motives mixed with the measure, of which they could not judge. It was well known that there were persons, both in France and out of it, who were anxious to exalt M. de la Fayette as the grand champion of liberty, that they might be able to cabal with him, to raise a new standard, and to bring about new

revolutions in France and elsewhere. How could Gentlemen tell, then, that the conduct of the Emperor might not be dictated by a wise and prudent policy, to keep this man fast, and prevent his committing new horrors? It was curious too, that though there were two more persons in the same gaol with M. de la Fayette, he alone was mentioned with distinguished praise—he alone was the theme of condolence, by these persons who made the war the eternal burden of their song, but who never felt for the many thousands of unhappy victims which that war had made, and of which war the authors of the revolution must be considered as the true authors. He again repeated, that the most just vengeance was due chiefly to those, who abounding in all good things, and filled with spleen and impatience drawn from the excessive enjoyments of life, with no haste to privation of their own comforts, with not one bit of Nun's flesh about them, would, for their own vile purposes, sport with the happiness of mankind, and play the deep and damnable game of ambition. He should not be sorry —indeed he should rejoice, to see such men drink deep of the cup of calamity which they had prepared for the lips of others.

On the whole, this was not a question of sentiment, but of prudence, policy, and general morality. If there were any grounds separate from those mentioned to sanction interference, he had no objection to interference being attempted; but he never would consent, nor would the house, he hoped, in the

absence of other reasons, to do an act which would put a premium on revolution, give the sanction of example to treason, and reward to rebellion.

The house divided on the Amendment,

Ayes - - -	50
Noes - - -	132

The original motion was then negatived.

REDUCTION OF OFFICES.

March 13, 1797.

MR. HARRISON moved, "That the extent of the supplies "voted to Government since the commencement of the present "war, having caused so heavy an increase of taxes, it is the "duty of this House to inquire, whether some relief to the bur-"dens of the people, or provision for farther expence, may not be "obtained by the reduction of useless places, sinecure offices, exor-"bitant fees, and other modes of retrenchment in the expenditure "of the public money."

Lord William Russell seconded and Mr. Sheridan supported the motion. Mr. Pitt moved the previous question.

MR. WINDHAM (Secretary at War) condemned the gross error and monstrous principles in which the motion for retrenchment was founded, and rose to reply, not only to general observations, but to some which required an explanation concerning the office which he held. He considered the reply of his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Pitt) to be so satisfactory and conclusive on the general statement, to all who heard him, that it seemed to require a confidence of a diffe-

rent sort to that which his Right Honourable Friend solicited, to embolden any one to contest about it longer. It had been said, that his Right Honourable Friend had now avowed and brought forward his system and opinions of corruption, when that system and those opinions had not only been recognized by general principles, by every well-regulated government, and by the ancient forms and customs of this country, but had been recognized by the conduct of parliament also. On that memorable occasion, in the year 1780, and afterwards in 1782, the principle was recognized by the most solemn and authoritative judgement of the house. The illustrious Gentleman (Mr. Burke), whose clear and comprehensive mind surveyed, dissected, arranged, examined, and new-modelled the system of the public expenditure, acted upon a large, liberal, sound, and statesman-like foundation. He did not shift and accommodate himself to that sort of doctrine which might attract the breath of a certain description of persons out of doors, by raising an idle and an empty clamour against sinecure places, but convinced that retributions should be proportionate to services, and that a youth of distress and labour deserved an age of affluence and ease, he provided accordingly. Such were the opinions, and such was the system of those very persons with whom the Honourable Gentleman opposite had once associated, and with whom, without any disparagement to them, it might be their pride and boast to have acted.

The Honourable Gentleman had laboured very hard to represent that the country called for very strong

exertions; and what was the judgement which he gave upon it? Why, it went to fasten the necessity of abolishing every sinecure place; or, in other words, of destroying public confidence; of depriving the useful and the brave of their remuneration; and of preventing people in future from being so prompt and vigorous as they otherwise might be, on account of the insecurity or improbability of obtaining any recompence. Gentlemen ought to recollect where they were when they argued in that manner, and talk like statesmen in parliament, and not as if they were haranguing a club at a public-house. Let them learn to suit their opinions to their situation, and not to cut off all rewards, and thereby force the people who pursue the common traffic of life to find a market for their zeal in other places. To what dilemma did they wish to bring the country? They would deprive the public of the assistance of all who are in office by robbing them of their pay, and for what? That those who are out of office might leave them in the lurch, or be invited to receive it! Such a jest might serve to set "some barren spectators laughing," but it was too contemptible for serious argument; for what was the plain issue of it, but that persons, whose long and able services were entitled to remuneration and reward, were to be cut down and impoverished; all men were to rank on the same level; there were to be no sources of emolument, no credit to the country, no chance in the common lottery of life, no change in the course and progress of events, but the same blank, the same uninteresting scene to prevail for ever.

Did they wish, then, that none were to serve the public but men of fortune? Grant it. Have men of fortune always the abilities to serve the public, or even if they have, will they also have the inclination? Would the Honourable Gentleman who brought forward the motion, "I do not ask him at present," said Mr. Windham, "but would he choose from a strict sense of duty, a love of employment, or a love of power, to quit his native fields, to leave the ease and comforts of retirement, to abjure the luxuries of life, and forsake the smiles of his family, for the trouble, hazard, and fatigue of a public employment, without honour, without profit, and without praise." If there were any necessity to pursue the subject farther, would he wish to drive the talents of the country into the service of the public? The experiment might be fatal.

These being the principles and grounds of the opinion of a necessity of retrenchment in the public offices, as stated to the house by the Honourable Gentleman and his Honourable Friend, might the house rely upon their integrity that they would not push them farther? Allow that they did not, it would be difficult, perhaps, to fix the precise boundary; and then it might be necessary also to inquire what changes might ensue, and where the house should desist from pressing this regulation. But a new case occurs, which must be shewn. The Honourable Gentleman stated, that a great deal of patronage had been growing up since the last regulation. For the sake of argument, admit it, and admit too, that the

House in conformity were inclined to renew the measure. Well, what then? Is it not necessary first to inquire, whether the establishments grow out of the necessity of public service, whether there be not a better regulation of business by the increase of expence, than could be balanced by the diminution; or whether there might not be particular circumstances which required such an extension? If any of these cases bear out the propriety of their continuance, what then is the house to do? Why, then the house is to inquire whether they be rightly arranged or not: if they are all right, useful, and expedient, it must be wise and prudent to preserve them as they are: if they are wrong, useless, or obstructive, then they ought to be abolished, or reformed.

Then came before the house in its turn, the subject of the calamity of this country. He agreed with Gentlemen, that this country was in a state of calamity, although he differed from them about the cause, and as much about the remedy to be applied to that calamity. That calamity was not owing to the loss of our commerce, for it was flourishing in a high degree; nor was it to be ascribed to the diminution of our manufactures, the neglect of our agriculture, the decay of our trade, for there was no visible decline in any of these; on the contrary, the country was full of wealth. The calamity which we felt, was the calamity which all Europe felt; it was a calamity which the pernicious doctrine which had been too prevalent in a neighbouring country had occasioned all over

Europe, and which it was the duty of all Europe to repel, and to which the speeches of some Gentlemen, who favoured this and the like motions, too much contributed; the effects of which at present were the enormous acquisitions and arrogant pretensions of our enemies, and which we were called upon to resist by a great general policy, not by the mean and miserable saving of the ends of candles and the parings of bits of cheese, such as this motion could only be competent to produce. If there was any waste in any public department, the house should meet it fairly, and come to some manly regulation upon the subject; but they should not practice so mean and so shabby a delusion upon the public, as to hold up the savings of a few sinecure places as a resource to lessen the public burdens; for he verily believed, that the fee-simple of all such savings would not amount to a farthing a head to all the inhabitants of London. It was by holding up as a great resource for the public, this system of pitiful economy, that the discontented spirits of this country were emboldened; while the good effects to be expected, were but ridiculous and idle dreams. If ministers had conducted the war improperly, let the house say so, and impeach them at once; but this was not the way to redress the grievances of the public, if they had any to complain of; on the contrary, it led directly to the greatest mischief, for by attacking the property of a placeman, they attacked all species of property. Those who thought that a placeman ought to be stript, would soon be brought to think every man who had any

wealth ought to be stript also; nay, he thought that, according to the mode of reasoning adopted against placemen, he should make a better figure in endeavouring to defend the emoluments of his place, than in the character of a country-gentleman, he could defend his right to his estate; since for his emoluments in his place he might say he did something, whereas his estate descended to him without any merit of his own. Let men, with large masses of property, be cautious how they act in aiding such opinions, for there is a close connection in reason, and, depend upon it, a still closer one, in fact, between the clamour against public offices and the confiscation of private property. The principle had been recognized and acted upon in another country. What service does a man do for his estate? Of the two species of property, the place is the most secure, because the "labourer is" supposed to be "worthy of his hire;" and as the estate might originate in abuse of power, or servility to a Prince, an allegation might be made, that the possessor and his family had enjoyed the profits of it long enough, and that it was now high time to revert to the other claimants. He supported the necessity of sinecures as a provision for old age, talents, and public services. He contended, that the doctrines, upon which the motion was supported, were only adapted to enflame the poor, and purchase "mouth-honour," and unworthy popularity.

As to the general argument of corruption in this war, he could only say, that if it was carried on by corruption, it was the corruption of the greater part

of Europe against a single enemy; and he could not conceive why so large a part of mankind should delight in corrupting themselves to the manifest prejudice of their interests. Those who could lay that flattering unction to their souls for having opposed that principle, were such strange men, that he could not argue with them. He then justified the conduct of the department over which he presided, maintained that there was nothing there which required retrenchment, and declared he believed that would turn out to be the case in every other branch of public expenditure; all which, however, would appear in the report of the committee in consequence of the instructions which his Right Honourable Friend had given notice of his intention to move. He concluded by giving his cordial assent to the motion for the previous question.

The motion was opposed by Serjeant Adair and Dr. Lawrence, and supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Tierney. The house divided,

For Mr. Pitt's motion of the previous question	169
Against it - - - - -	77
Majority - -	92

A Committee of Finance being appointed by ballot, Mr. Pitt moved, "*That it be an instruction to the said Committee, that they* "*do examine and consider what regulations and checks have been* "*applied in order to control the several branches of the public* "*expenditure, and how far the same have been effectual; and* "*also, what increase or diminution has taken place since the* "*year* 1782, *in the number, or in the amount, of the salaries*

" *and emoluments of different public offices, and whether any and* " *what farther measures can be adopted for reducing any part of* " *the said expenditure, or for diminishing the total amount of* " *such salaries and emoluments, without detriment to the public* " *services.*"

Mr. Sheridan proposed that Mr. Fox should be added to the Committee. The house divided,

Ayes	-	75
Noes	-	148
Majority	-	73

EMIGRANTS.

April 24, 1798.

THE house having resolved into a Committee on the Alien Bill, Mr. Hobart in the Chair,

MR. WINDHAM (Secretary at War) remarked on the vulgar prejudices against which Gentlemen ought to guard on a subject of this nature. Thus there was a sort of prevalent error concerning every foreigner, that he must be a Frenchman, and concerning every Frenchman, that he must be an Emigrant; thus it had been stated to that effect in the house concerning a person apprehended, who, it appeared, was neither a Frenchman nor an Emigrant, and, as it turned out, had not been guilty of any crime. This was a reason why the Committee should be cautious how they confounded the innocent with the guilty. There were other mistaken opinions entertained, and, he feared, gaining ground in this country: thus some were apt to see Emigrants only in the light of persons coming into this country in distress; and simply in this view,

it was surely no light matter to expel persons merely because they were distressed, nor from mere surmises or fancied apprehensions of danger. The body of French Emigrants ought, in his opinion, to be considered as consisting of men, many of whom had made great sacrifices for their loyalty and attachment to their antient government; many of them the respectable representatives of all that remained of the clergy, nobility, magistracy, and proprietary of the land. They had a claim to be considered, not merely as suffering individuals, but also in their collective and representative capacity, which made them of still greater consequence. He was afraid there were many in this country, who, in the days of the prosperity of such persons, would have been ambitious to have been cordially received by them, but who now forgot all this, and viewed these same individuals merely as persons sunk into poverty. He was happy, however, to say, that this treatment and cold behaviour was not universal. To the honour of the sex he must remark, that ladies of the first rank, character, and respectability in this country, had shewn their sympathy and liberality towards those of their own sex, who in France had seen better days. He thought the country bound not upon light grounds to withhold from them that asylum and assistance they had hitherto received from this country; for what would this be doing but to put them in a worse situation than if they had never been taken under our protection? Those who wished the expulsion of the Emigrants, did so from an appre-

hension of danger to this country. For his part, he could not enter into any such feelings of apprehension; for of the Emigrants, about one half were priests, the remaining number, after deducting women and children, was inconsiderable. A common prejudice was entertained against them, because they preferred France to this country, and their antient constitution to our own; but this, in his opinion, was no objection to them. It would, indeed, be extraordinary if the case were otherwise, as well as unreasonable to require of them to sacrifice all their antient opinions and prejudices, or to expect that a Frenchman, for the allowance of a shilling a day, would sacrifice what he considered his birth-right, for a mess of pottage. But though it was not to be expected of them that they should prefer this country to their own, yet no inference could be deduced from this why they should forfeit the confidence, liberality, and humanity of the Nation and Parliament? We certainly had a right to expect that they would not betray or sell the country which sheltered them; that they would not take part with those who at present were our enemies, supposing that they did not co-operate with us.

He would ask, what instances could be produced, during the long period of the present war, of these Emigrants proving untrue, or betraying whatever trust had been reposed in them? They had been trusted upon some occasions, necessarily, and pretty highly. They composed a part of the army of the Duke of York upon the continent. Had they proved betrayers of their trust then, or been deficient in their duty?

Were the corps of Rohan, of La Chatre, of Montalembert, &c. false to their employers? In the army of the Prince of Condé, whole ranks were to be found composed of persons who had been loaded with honours for services done to their own or other countries; the army of the Austrians had been saved by the exertions of this corps, who had many of them gallantly fallen whilst defending their allies. After alluding to the unfortunate affair of Quiberon, which he considered to have suffered by surprize rather than by treachery, he proceeded to notice a question that was sometimes asked, as alluding to the Emigrants, namely, were there not spies in this country? He would answer by saying, there were just as many as the Directory of France chose to employ. Nor, if instances of this sort should be found amongst the Emigrants, would it be any matter of surprize. There were also traitors in this country; but would it be justifiable on this account to proscribe a whole body of men who had been taken under the protection of this country, and who had not abused the confidence reposed in them? But it might be questioned, whether, in case of danger from a successful landing of the enemy, they might not wish to save their own lives by joining the enemy? He would only say, this was a trial they had not been called to; but in similar instances in other countries, they had shewn their regard to their honour to be equal, if not superior to that of their lives. Many of them had preferred the calls of duty and of honour to every other consideration.

If this bill were intended merely as a prevention to guard against any machinations that might be formed to our prejudice by any of the Emigrants, he could not object to it; and he knew that it was the wish of those Emigrants whom he had been speaking of, that great distinctions should be made, that the wheat should be winnowed from the chaff, and the Government of the country have the means of expelling unworthy characters. A pernicious spirit had gone abroad, which, as it would lead to palpable injustice towards the Emigrants, should be combated. Was it a reason, because they had been driven from every country of Europe, where the French arms had gained influence, and on account of their hostility to the present French government, that they should also be driven from this country? Some worthless characters might be found amongst the Emigrants, as was the case in every community; but this did not extend to the general body, in many of whom (he meant the French nobility) he could place all possible confidence with regard to his own life, and what he did not value less, the safety and honour of his country. Mr. Windham insisted that the body of Emigrants were entitled to the protection and favour of this country. It would be setting a most dangerous example to hold up this to view, that those who had remained faithful to the Constitution of their country, should be discarded and expelled; nor did it become the wisdom and prudence of that house to give countenance to the impression, that in case of an invasion, the French

Emigrants would turn upon their benefactors. Were this impression to gain ground, it might endanger the safety and lives of this unfortunate description of persons.

Mr. Tierney replied to Mr. Windham; and after a debate, some clauses were added to the Bill, and the report was brought up.

CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR.

February 17, 1800.

MR. CHANCELLOR PITT moved the order of the day, for referring the King's Message to a Committee of the whole house, to consider of a supply to be granted to His Majesty. The house having accordingly resolved itself into a Committee, Mr. Pitt moved, "*That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a* "*sum not exceeding* 500,000*l. be granted to His Majesty, to* "*enable His Majesty to make such advances as may be necessary* "*for the purpose of insuring, at an early period, a vigorous co-*"*operation of the Emperor of Germany, the Elector of Ba-*"*varia, &c. in the ensuing campaign against the common* "*enemy, &c.*"

After some opposition to this motion from Mr. Tierney, Mr. Sheridan, and other Members,

MR. WINDHAM spoke in substance as follows:

SIR,

IN rising to deliver my sentiments on the question which is before us, I cannot avoid remarking that the opinions of this house, and those of the Honourable Gentlemen opposite, have long been in direct opposition. The house wishes that an end may be put to the calamities which have afflicted Europe, arising from

revolutionary principles. Gentlemen opposite seem to wish that those principles, which are called the rights of man, may be invigorated and flourish. The house wishes either the restoration of Monarchy to France, or some government not tinctured with revolutionary principles. Gentlemen on the other side wish for a Republic such as we now see exist. The house wishes for a government in France that may be a pledge to this country of a safe and honourable peace. Gentlemen, in conformity to their principles, wish the present coalition of powers may be broken, or that their united endeavours may not succeed. They have pleaded the necessity for a negociation, without considering that it affords very little prospect of leading to peace; while at the same time we know that it would have the certain effect of countenancing and consolidating the power of Buonaparté: it would also produce jealousy among the coalesced powers, and might ultimately tend to break the present existing confederacy. Seeing then all those immediate dangers to which the coalition is exposed by a negociation, it requires but little sagacity to conclude for what reason it was at first set on foot; it was an instrument to answer the political purposes of Buonaparté. If a man were to ask what would open an oyster? he would answer, a knife of a certain thickness and dimensions: so if a man were to ask, what would break up a coalition? he would answer, a negotiation; it is the apple of discord, meant to disunite only, and not to produce pacification. But the object of this country should be to counteract the schemes of our enemy, and this can

only be done by guarding, with the most scrupulous care, against every thing which may weaken the great military confederacy now happily renewed against France.

Two years and a half ago, when Buonaparté was at the gates of Vienna, what was the conduct of Gentlemen opposite? When France appeared to be in her exultation, did they wish to depress her? Their conduct was quite the reverse — they opposed the giving of supplies, and were willing to leave France to turn all her force against Austria. The language of Gentlemen is, if you continue the war, we will try to cripple you in all your efforts, and to render them ineffectual. If Gentlemen acted impartially and fairly, they would examine whether there was not some important end to be answered worthy all the trouble and expence which ministers would wish to bestow on its attainment. If such an end existed, it would then be the height of absurdity to refuse the means of accomplishing it. But on this subject we have heard very little said.

As for the reasons alledged for not granting the supply required, I am glad to observe that they seem to make very little impression on the house. If Gentlemen can shew that the money is not likely to produce an effect adequate to the expenditure, or that it can be laid out in some other way more to the advantage of this country, ministers will be much obliged to them. But Gentlemen opposite do not appear to be decided in their plans; — sometimes they would put an entire stop to the war — and sometimes they

would only obstruct it. Some would go great lengths to carry on the war, but object to the extensive lengths to which others are led, and therefore endeavour to paralyse the efforts which they want the spirit to approve. Another contradiction is seen also. They are attached to the Republic of France while a Republic exists, and to individual despotism when fresh circumstances have created that change. Can feelings of the rights of man approve of such revolutions? That the house in general should differ from them, can be a matter of no surprise.

Gentlemen accuse ministers of having no determinate object in the war. Sometimes they say it is the restoration of Monarchy; sometimes the surrender of Belgium has been a *sine quâ non* of peace: but the explanation of the grounds of the war, and its continuance, have been so often repeated, that it is folly to dwell any longer upon them; it must be intelligible to all mankind. If we cannot gain all we wish by the war, we must obtain all we can. Where the best thing is unattainable, the second best must be had. After what my Right Honourable Friend has said on this part of the subject, I will not pursue it farther. From the beginning to the present period of the war, there has been no variation in the grounds of its continuance. The same language has been uniformly used by those concerned in its prosecution. Since I have been connected with the ministry, by no expression of mine could it be supposed that I in the least differed from them. The endeavours, therefore, that Gentlemen have made to fix on my conduct the cha-

racter of change and indecision, are altogether unjust. I am not ashamed of my sentiments, and have always avowed them openly; this has sometimes procured me the praise of noble candour; and at others, the slur of indiscretion; but I am as little inclined to take the praise, as to admit the slur.

There is one question which Gentlemen have asked that deserves a definitive answer — "Will you," they say, "fight for the restoration of that Monarchy in France, which was always hostile to this country, and has been the occasion of our wars and debt?" — This, Sir, is a matter of calculation. The Monarchy of France existed eight hundred years; and if we consider the evils it occasioned us in that time, *pondere non numero*, we shall find them far inferior to those accumulated upon us by the unprovoked aggressions, the plots and the arts of France, in the short course of her eight years Revolution. What is found most execrable in the history of the worst times, has been the every-day practice of France. Leaving the notion for a moment, of treating with that country as it now exists, let us suppose a Bourbon on the Throne; might not better terms of peace be expected from him than from the present Chief Consul? Would not peace with him be more permanent? The very condition in which a Prince just reinstated on his Throne would feel himself, would be a security for the limitation of his views, and the permanency of his engagements; neither, with a disposition to be hostile, could he act with the same force as a Republic. For some time also he must, in a great measure, be dependent

for security on neighbouring nations. In course of years, however, this same Monarchy, I own, might degenerate in principle, as it increased in power, and be even as hostile to us as the previous Government. It would, however, possess the character of stability, and capacity to respect treaties, while the present Government of France carries in its bosom the seeds of its own dissolution, and of disturbing other states.

Gentlemen contend that the character of Buonaparté should not come into consideration. They deprecate any discussion of this kind, and think it fraught with the worst of consequences. Time and occasion, Sir, do not invite me to say much on this subject; I will only observe, that what has been said of Buonaparté did not arise from any peevish satisfaction in weighing his character in a disadvantageous scale, but from the real necessity of the case. Before we treat with any one, we must consider his character and conduct; nothing could be more reasonable; how else shall we be able to rely on his sincerity? Buonaparté has been held out as a hero: this one would suppose was no recommendation in the eyes of those who are always declaiming against Kings and conquerors, and war and bloodshed. Yet even this hero, armed with the power of a King, can be contemplated without fear, and even with pleasure; while Kings in general are branded with being lovers of war and the murderers of mankind. Such are the prejudices that Gentlemen are willing to entertain, because two thousand years ago a King and a Conqueror were syno-

himous terms; yet the union of these characters in Buonaparté becomes only a venal failing, and he is still to be endured; as a King, he is no longer despotic; as a Conqueror, it seems, he is not the plunderer of mankind. Tried in a Court of Chivalry, indeed, his actions might dazzle; but they would not even there bear a scrutiny.

Let us now come to the sincerity of Buonaparté in wishing to make a general peace. His love of peace will be seen in that with Austria, which was made on his part chiefly with a view of carrying war into another quarter of the world. He was in hopes, by having the command of the army of England, of subjugating this country to the authority of France. In the intercepted letters from Egypt also we have several specimens of his sincerity; yet, for the sake of suffering humanity, we are called upon to make peace with this man. Peace at all events, without considering what kind, is the cry. Just like the man who turned his dirty shirt, and exclaimed, "Oh the comforts of clean linen?" It has been often asked, what is Jacobinism? I say, we know it but by its effects; it breaks up the institutions of every country where it takes root; its explosions are like those of a volcano, sudden and destructive, and it has almost brought ruin on Europe. At the same time, I own, there is some difficulty in defining it: it can easily transfer its regard from one Government to another; at one time universal representation is the true art of governing in its estimation, and at another it is quite overlooked and forgotten. This puts me in mind of a conversation

which I had lately with a friend at Norwich, whom I knew to be tainted. "Brissot (says he) was a fine fellow!" "If he was so (said I), what was he who cut off Brissot's head?" "He was a fine fellow too," answered this weak person. Just so with some Gentlemen in this house. In the French Revolution, the last murderer is always the hero, and his sentiments and conduct the most estimable for a time; for this reason it is that there is such difficulty in describing Jacobinism: it is a kind of quality that may as well be presented to the mind as Chaos itself: it is the very negative of all order. A Jacobin Government is a Revolutionary Government; it is founded on the ruin of every thing permanent and dear to man: it robs the owner of his property to give it to the worthless, and despoils the people of their dearest rights and privileges. We are not to suppose that the danger of Jacobinism is over, because it lies dormant, or because liberty is destroyed. If the latter circumstance could have precluded danger, all attachment for Jacobinism must have ceased from the beginning; for that and liberty have never been found to exist one moment together. Yet there are even now persons in this country who wish well to the Government at present in France, and who would feel its establishment as the triumph of their sentiments and opinions. Such are the persons who justify the rights of man on every occasion. The progress of these principles is by them deemed no evil, but meets with their warmest support. Those that wish for peace with Buonaparté,

wish it with more than natural ardour, and blame, therefore, with proportionate intemperance, every measure adopted with a contrary view; and this arises solely from their regard for the present upstart French Monarchy. The interest of this country is not to implicate itself with the French Government, for by so doing every proceeding which has disgraced France would meet with our tacit justification; and men who think it would be a great calamity to see the rightful Sovereign of France resume his throne and authority, and the owners their estates, would not long scruple, if opportunity offered, to render the same resumption necessary in this country. The temporary scarcity of provisions is no reason for not prosecuting the war, though it has been represented as almost an invincible objection. If it is of such weight, we ought to make peace at any rate. But I object altogether to topics of this kind, on the ground that they are Jacobinical: it is pressing into the service of the question things that do not belong to it. The question of war and scarcity must stand on separate grounds. By exciting among the people discontent on account of the scarcity, important proceedings of administration may be impeded, so as even to force ministers to abandon measures whereon depend the welfare and salvation of the country. On account, therefore, of the mischiefs which are liable to arise from thus mixing topics unconnected in their nature, the practice fully deserves to be branded with the name of Jacobinism, the great characteristic of which is, to take advantage of the

discontents of mankind, and turn them to its own purposes.

Sir W. Pulteney and Mr. W. Smith opposed the resolution; after which the house divided,

For the motion - - -	162
Against it - - - -	19
Majority - -	143

BULL-BAITING.

April 18, 1800.

THE order of the day being read for further considering the Report of the Committee on the Bill for preventing the practice of Bull-Baiting, Sir William Pulteney moved, "That the "house do now consider further the said Report."

MR. WINDHAM spoke to the following effect:

SIR,

I RISE for the purpose of opposing the motion which has been made by the Honourable Baronet; and had I been present when this bill was in its former stages, I should have even then decidedly opposed it; for notwithstanding the gravity with which it was introduced, and the importance which seemed to be attached to it, I should certainly have thought it my duty to ask the house if they knew upon what it was that they were going to legislate. Let me now ask then what there is in Bull-Baiting which they have suddenly found to be so alarming. It is no new practice; it has existed more than a thousand years, without having been supposed to be pregnant with any of those crying evils that are now ascribed to it. Is it pretended that it

"has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished?" I, for one, cannot think that it has increased, nor can I see any necessity whatever for the interference of the legislature in order to diminish it. In my whole life, indeed, I have never been present but at two Bull-Baitings, and they happened while I was a school-boy; but I cannot say that I experienced any bad effects from the gratification of my curiosity. I did not find myself the worse for it, nor could I suspect that the other spectators were contaminated by the spectacle.

Sir, there are some persons to whom a legislative measure like this may appear serious and important; but for my own part, I cannot but look upon it as proceeding from a busy and anxious disposition to legislate on matters in which the laws are already sufficient to prevent abuse: — it at best only argues a *pruritus leges ferendi*, in the gratifying or opposing of which I cannot but think my time, and more especially that of the house, is most miserably employed. This house ought only to legislate when an act of legislature is gravely and generally called for; and not merely to gratify petty, personal and local motives, such as are infinitely beneath the deliberate dignity of Parliament; especially in times like the present, when questions of vital importance are hourly pressing on our attention. Really, Sir, in turning from the great interests of this country and of Europe, to discuss with equal solemnity such measures as that which is now before us, the house appears to me to resemble Mr. Smirk, the auctioneer in the play, who could hold forth just as eloquently

upon a ribbon as upon a Raphael. This petty, meddling, legislative spirit, cannot be productive of good: it serves only to multiply the laws, which are already too numerous, and to furnish mankind with additional means of vexing and harassing one another.

A great deal has lately been said respecting the state of the poor, and the hardships which they are suffering. But if they are really in the condition which is described, why should we set about to deprive them of the few enjoyments which are left to them? If we look back to the state of the common people in those countries with which our youthful studies make us acquainted, we find, that what with games, shews, festivals, and the institutions of their religion, their sources of amusement and relaxation were so numerous as to make them appear to have enjoyed a perpetual holiday. If we look to Catholic countries, it will also appear, partly, perhaps, from many festivals and ceremonies being adopted into their religion from the Pagan system, and afterwards so transformed as to incorporate with it, that they all enjoy many more amusements and a much longer time for relaxation than the poor in this country, who may say with justice, "Why interfere with the few sports that we have, while you leave to yourselves and the rich so great a variety? You have your carriages, your town-houses, and your country-houses; your balls, your plays, your operas, your masquerades, your card-parties, your books, your dogs, and your horses to amuse you — On yourselves you lay no restraint — But from us you wish to take the little we have?"

In the South of France and in Spain, at the end of the day's labour, and in the cool of the evening's shade, the poor dance in mirthful festivity on the green, to the sound of the guitar. But in this country no such source of amusement presents itself. If they dance, it must be often in a marsh, or in the rain, for the pleasure of catching cold. But there is a substitute in this country, well known by the name of a *Hop*. We all know the alarm which the very word inspires, and the sound of the fiddle calls forth the magistrate to dissolve the meeting. Men bred in ignorance of the world, and having no opportunity of mixing in its scenes or observing its manners, may be much worse employed than in learning something of its customs from theatrical representations; but if a company of strolling players make their appearance in a village, they are hunted immediately from it as a nuisance, except, perhaps, there be a few people of greater wealth in the neighbourhood, whose wives and daughters patronize them. Then the labouring people must have recourse to the public-house, where, perhaps, they get into conversation, and politics become the subject. That this is an employment sufficiently mischievous I am willing enough to admit. What are they to do then? Go home and read their bibles! This is, no doubt, very proper; but it would be well if the rich set them a little better example in this way. Whatever may be the habits of the more luxurious climates of the continent, the amusements of our people were always composed of athletic, manly, and hardy exercises, affording trials of their courage, con-

ducive to their health, and to them objects of ambition and of glory. In the exercise of those sports they may, indeed, sometimes hurt themselves, but could never hurt the nation. If a set of poor men, for vigorous recreation, prefer a game of *cudgels*, instead of interrupting them, it should be more our business to let them have *fair play;* for victory is here to them an object of as much glory as greater men could aim at in a superior sphere. These sports are, in my mind, as fair an object of emulation and of fame, as those in which the higher classes are so proud to indulge; and here I am ready to agree with the poet, that, in other circumstances,

> "He that the world subdued, had been
> "But the best wrestler on the green."

Some little time since it was thought matter of reproach for gentlemen to be present at any of these athletic trials; and even *boxing* was cried down as an exercise of ferocity. It is time to resist these unnecessary restraints; for, if this bill should pass into a law, it would no doubt be followed by other regulations equally frivolous and vexatious. It is idle to declaim against savage manners or dispositions in this country. The character of the people is directly the reverse; their sports are robust and hardy, but their tempers are not ferocious; nay, it is a fact, that there is not a people in the whole world that feel a greater horror at bloodshed. Compare them with the people of France or Italy, where all is suavity, sprightliness, and gaiety, and let us rejoice in the difference between the huma-

nity of their characters. I will not say, whether certain principles, if suffered to operate, might not have produced sanguinary scenes here as well as in other places; but I can safely assert, that cruelty, or the thirst of blood, is not in the nature nor in the habits of Englishmen. On this subject, I may be permitted to make an allusion to an affray which lately took place in the Isle of Wight, in which some foreigners were engaged. Unfortunately, murder was the consequence of that scuffle, which, amongst Englishmen, would have terminated in a black eye or a bloody nose. So congenial is this principle of humanity to the hearts of our people, and so uniformly displayed in their actions, that it might imply the suspicion of effeminacy, if they had not so often given, on all occasions, such glorious testimonies of courage and prowess in another way. In war they are prodigal of their own blood; but after the shock of battle, or the fury of an assault, their first sentiment is always shewn in mercy to the vanquished; and it is not unfair to attribute to their manly amusements much of that valour which is so conspicuous in their martial achievements by sea and land. Courage and humanity seem to grow out of their wholesome exercises.

Sir, having premised thus much, I next come to consider this case of bull-baiting in particular. The sport here, it must be confessed, is at the expence of an animal which is not by any means a party to the amusement; but it at the same time serves to cultivate the qualities of a certain species of dogs, which affords as much pleasure to their owners as greyhounds do to

others; and why should the butcher be deprived of his amusement any more than the gentleman? That peculiar breed of dogs, though now decreasing, and nearly extinct, has always been held in high estimation in this island. Gratian, who wrote as early as the age of Augustus, mentioned and described this animal, which, indeed, has always been so much a favourite, that many of our ships are called after its name. It is no small recommendation to bull-dogs, that they are so much in repute with the populace.

The advocates of this bill, Sir, proposed to abolish bull-baiting on the score of cruelty. It is strange enough that such an argument should be employed by a set of persons who have a most vexatious code of laws for the protection of their own amusements. I do not mean at present to condemn the game laws; but when Gentlemen talk of cruelty, I must remind them, that it belongs as much to shooting, as to the sport of bull-baiting; nay more so, as it frequently happens, that where one bird is shot, a great many others go off much wounded. When, therefore, I hear humane Gentlemen even make a boast of having wounded a number of birds in this way, it only affords me a further proof that savage sports do not make savage people. Has not the butcher as much right to demand the exercise of his sport, as the man of fortune to demand that of hunting? Is not the latter as painful to the horse, as the former to the bull? And do not Gentlemen, for the empty fame of being in at the death, frequently goad and spur their horses to exertions greatly beyond their strength? Might not

the butcher say, "I have no coaches, horses, balls, masquerades, nor even books, which afford so much delight to those in higher stations, and who have more leisure time; do not therefore deprive me of the amusement I feel in setting the propensities of one animal against those of another." The common people may ask with justice, why abolish bull-baiting and protect hunting and shooting? What appearance must we make, if we, who have every source of amusement open to us, and yet follow these cruel sports, become rigid censors of the sports of the poor, and abolish them on account of their cruelty, when they are not more cruel than our own?

It may be said, that in bull-baiting the labouring poor throw away their money, and lose their time, which they ought to devote to labour, and that thus they themselves may become chargeable to the rich. But surely, if there be any set of men who ought to be left at liberty to dispose of their money as they choose, it ought to be the industrious labourers; and such men do not lose time by their amusements, but work harder and longer at other times, to make up for what time they may lose in relaxation, and to furnish them with additional money for the enjoyment of such recreations. I do not mean to speak against magistrates; on the contrary I am convinced of the value and importance of the services they render to the community, and of the general activity and propriety with which they discharge their duty: but I do think that many of them appear to act upon an opinion, that it is their duty at all times to controul the common people in their amusements, like some to

whom the care of children is committed, who think it right to deny them every thing which they seem eager to have or enjoy. They appear to act on the opinion, that the common people have nothing to do with any amusement; but ought only to eat, to sleep, and to work.

Upon the whole, Sir, there does not appear to me to be any real evil in the practice of bull-baiting; that it would be trifling to legislate upon such petty concerns, and that it is in the present case absurd, as the practice is already so much fallen into disuse, that it seems as if the bill has been brought in now lest it should be quite abolished before it could be passed. As to the cruelty of the practice, it is mere solemn mockery in Gentlemen to talk of it, while they themselves indulge in sports equally cruel. In a bull-baiting a hedge may be broken down, or a field of grass trodden down; but what is this compared to the injury done by a pack of hounds, followed by horses and their riders, sweeping over fields and hedges without distinction? Accidents to the lookers-on do sometimes happen at bull-baiting; but I am sure that I have known more fatal accidents than ever happened from bull-baiting, arise in the county of Norfolk alone, (keeping out of the question those which have happened merely from the danger always attending the use of fire arms) by quarrels between the game-invaders and the game-preservers, some being killed on the spot, and others hanged afterwards for the murders. What then is the plea by which the bill is supported? It cannot be from sensibility and hatred of cruelty in those very

Gentlemen who in the game-season, as it has been justly said, become their own butchers and poulterers.

Sir, I shall conclude by moving, "That the consideration of the report of the Committee on the Bill be delayed till this day six months."

Mr. Canning also opposed the Bill; Sir William Pulteney, Mr. Sheridan, and Sir Richard Hill, supported it. The house divided on Mr. Windham's Amendment,

Ayes - - - -	43
Noes - - - -	41
Majority against the Bill	2

It is thought proper to depart from the strict order of chronology, for the purpose of annexing to the preceding Speech, another which Mr. Windham delivered on a renewed discussion of the same subject two years afterwards.

May 24, 1802.

MR. DENT moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the Bill to prevent Bull-Baiting and Bull-Running. Sir Richard Hill having supported the measure,

MR. WINDHAM said, that the evil complained of by the supporters of this bill, was not such as imperiously called for or justified the interference of the

legislature. He deprecated the introduction of such a subject at a moment of such extreme anxiety, when the country was divided between hopes and fears, and there were so many things of importance to agitate men's bosoms. It was not an evil that had "grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength;" but, on the contrary, it had declined as they increased. In fact, it would be gone before the house would have time to legislate upon it.

> Curremus precipites ——————
> Dum jacet in ripâ calcemus Cæsaris hostem.

An allusion had been made to a petition from Norwich on the subject; and an insinuation had been thrown out, that it was a practice generally prevalent in that neighbourhood. The fact, however, was, that on enquiry he himself had found that within the last twenty years only two instances were remembered of a bull-baiting in Norwich or its vicinity. Decreasing as the practice was all over the country, he could not but think that the discussion of such paltry local complaints was wholly unworthy of the legislature of a great nation. It was part of a system of introducing subjects of a similar kind into parliament, which he could not omit the opportunity of reprobating in the strongest terms. The subject was in all points of view degrading; but it appeared more especially unworthy of being entertained by the imperial parliament, at a time when so many other subjects of great national importance were calling for the attention of the house. Such a sort of public interference with matters un-

worthy of the consideration of the legislature could be productive of no consequences but such as were mischievous. No law could be desirable which would be attended with no national advantage, and this advantage ought to be well weighed before a legislative enactment was required. A law in all cases necessarily involved a certain degree of restraint; and it was also to be taken into the account that it could not be carried into effect without vesting in those who were to enforce its provisions a considerable degree of discretion. If such a law as that now called for were to be passed, it could not act by a silent operation. On the contrary, it would be enforced by those who principally exerted themselves for the observance of the game-laws, and who, in enforcing its provisions, could not possibly escape a large share of public odium. Such was the subject now before the house, which contained nothing of public or general interest. To procure the discussion of such subjects, it was necessary to resort to canvass and intrigue. Members, whose attendance was induced by local considerations in most cases of this description, were present; the discussion, if any took place, was managed by the friends of the measure; and the decision of the house was perhaps ultimately a matter of mere chance. The present bill was precisely one of a similar description, and but from the circumstances of the subject having excited some attention in a former session, it might have been considered by chance, and agreed to without discussion.

On this general principle, then, he was inclined to oppose the discussion of the subject, as totally unworthy

of the dignity of the house. But he had in the next place to object to the manner in which the subject of bull-baiting had been considered, not from a general view of the subject, but from a few insulated examples. The friends of the bill took a view of the practice complained of, merely as exhibited on a minute scale, and from them consequences were drawn. They put the bull and the dog as exhibited in a few instances, into the eye of their microscope, and through this confined medium desired the house to contemplate the general practice. The cruelties of the practice were the only circumstances held up to observation, and every thing else was kept out of view. But if this mode of viewing the subject were to be adopted, he saw no reason why all other sports should not be contemplated in a similar manner. If the cruelty of Bull-baiting was thus to be held up to the attention of the house in such glaring colours, why was not hunting, shooting, fishing, and all other amusements of a similar description, to be judged of by similar principles? If the effects of the one were to be viewed through the medium of a microscope, why were not the consequences of the other to be scrutinized with equal severity? By viewing objects in this way, not only would false conclusions be drawn, but the objects themselves would appear inverted, and in a way never intended by nature. Things would not only not appear the same, but their whole aspect would be reversed. — Nothing could be more pleasing to the eye than the sight of female beauty; but even if the fairest complexion were contemplated through a mi-

croscope, deformities would appear, and hairs unobservable to the naked eye would prevent themselves as the bristles on the back of a boar. Such attacks as the present on the amusements of the people struck him in no other light than as the first step to a reform of the manners of the lower orders. Those who, when young men, had formed projects for the reformation of Parliament, finding themselves disappointed in those projects, now formed the design of reforming the manners of the people. In their desires to accomplish this object, there were two great parties united, the Methodists and the Jacobins, though the objects they had in view by this change were essentially different. By the former, every rural amusement was condemned with a rigour only to be equalled by the severity of the Puritanical decisions. They were described as a part of the lewd sports and anti-christian pastimes which, in times of Puritanism, had been totally proscribed. Every thing joyous was to be prohibited, to prepare the people for the reception of their fanatical doctrines. By the Jacobins, on the other hand, it was an object of important consideration to give to the disposition of the lower orders a character of greater seriousness and gravity, as the means of facilitating the reception of their tenets; and to aid this design, it was necessary to discourage the practice of what was termed idle sports and useless amusements. This was a design which he should ever think it his duty strenuously to oppose. For, though he wished that the people might become more virtuous, more attentive to the duties of religion, better fathers, bet-

ter husbands, better children, he could never agree that for this purpose their social habits should be changed; that they should prove more austere, more unsociable, and more self-conceited than they now were. Whenever he saw any steps taken to produce this effect, he could not consider them in any other light than as so many steps of a departure from the old English character. The habits long established among the people were the best fitted to resist the schemes of innovation; and it was among the labouring and illiterate part of the people that Jacobinical doctrines had made the smallest progress. In this respect, indeed, it was otherwise with Methodist doctrines. They throve best on a stubborn soil; but they had the effect of preparing it for the reception of the doctrines of Jacobinism. In this work the two parties mutually over-reached each other. The party of the Methodists invited the people to read, and in the first instance they might peruse a few Jacobinical productions, that they might read with greater advantage their fanatical productions at a future period. In the same way the Jacobins wished to divert the people from every social pursuit; reading they strenuously recommended; and, though a few Methodistical books were, in the first instance, not wholly proscribed, they were allowed only to fit the mind for the reception of their poisonous tenets. The effect of their exertions was the same, though thus differently pursued. It was equally directed to the destruction of the old English character, by the abolition of all rural sports. So much convinced was he that this was the object of such

a bill as the present, that he almost felt disposed to rest his opposition to it on this footing. Out of the whole number of the disaffected, he questioned if a single bull-baiter could be found, or if a single sportsman had distinguished himself in the Corresponding Society. The hunting for which they reserved themselves was of a noble kind; they disdained the low pursuits of ordinary sportsmen; the game against which their efforts were directed were of no less a quality than Kings.

When he spoke of this union of the Methodists and Jacobins, he did not mean to deny that, in their political principles, as well as their ultimate objects, they essentially differed. Religion was an ingredient in the character of the Methodists, which was directly hostile to the views of Jacobinism; for in the composition of modern Jacobinism religion formed no part. But they were not, on serious consideration, so very far removed from each other as might at first sight appear. As a general assertion, it would be admitted that hot water was farther removed from congelation than what was cold; but when the hot water was exposed to the air, it was more speedily frozen. In a similar manner, though in the abstract Methodism and Jacobinism seemed to be the farthest removed from each other, yet facts shewed that the tenets of the one prepared the mind for the adoption of the doctrines of the other. In confirmation of this mutual design of these parties, the Right Honourable Member took occasion to quote a passage from the Memoirs of a rural Poet of considerable celebrity, (Bloomfield, author of the Farmer's

Boy, &c. by a Gentleman of respectable literary talents, Mr. Capel Lofft,) in which it is mentioned, that the Poet was in the habit of spending his time in reading in his garret, or attending a debating society, which the editor recommends as a much more worthy mode of employing himself, than if he had been occupied with gambling, drinking, or fighting. Mr. Windham paid some very handsome compliments to the originality of many of the thoughts of this poet, to his natural simplicity and unaffected elegance of language. He wished what he now said to be considered as an unexaggerated declaration of his opinion of the skill of the author; and he hoped it would be considered as nothing improper when he added, that he wished this opinion, thus publicly delivered, to be viewed as an advertisement of the merit of the poem. But with this high opinion of the merits of the poet, he had doubts how far it was proper to encourage ideas of literary profit or renown in those who had been bred to a useful trade. In particular instances it might not be prejudicial; but to inculcate such notions as those contained in the passage of the Memoirs to which he had referred, could tend only to a mischievous purpose. He regretted the minuteness with which he was obliged to enter into the consideration of the subject, but threw the blame on those by whom such a subject was introduced — an examination of the bill was not less necessary than if it had referred to a subject of the highest national importance. To examine the character of a daub of Teniers was often a work of more

difficulty than to describe the beauties of the Madona of Raphael.

He next proceeded to read an extract from a sermon, which he declared he should in all probability never have read, but from the circumstance of its having been sent to him by the author, in which the cruelty of bull-baiting is described in very strong terms; and the man who would encourage the practice is represented as a person who would not hesitate to sheath a blade in the bowels of his fellow-creatures. That the practice of sports, even when they were of a cruel kind, tended to render mankind cruel, he denied, and he founded his assertion on the history of all ages and countries. The most elegant scholars, and the finest poets in ancient and modern times, from Xenophon to Virgil and Milton, were loud in the praises of many of those sports which, with equal justice, might be called cruel, as that which had been so loudly condemned. What was the inference he drew from all this, but that cruelty was not at all the object of those sports, though in certain instances it might be the result? If he were asked, what was the object of bull-baiting, he should be better able to give an intelligible answer, than if he were asked a similar question with regard to hunting, or other amusements of that description. That a certain degree of gratification might be received from the spectacle of the combats of animals, the history of all ages sufficiently proved. Even the philosophy of the present age took part with a practice which had prevailed in this country for centuries. In the time of

Queen Elizabeth, that which is now despised and reprobated as the amusement only of the lowest of the people, was an amusement courted by all ranks. Since that period bull-baiting had declined, and hunting had usurped its room. The one had become the favourite amusement of the great, and the other had sunk in dignity till it was in a great measure annihilated; and yet it was at such a moment as this that the house was called upon to put it down by a legislative enactment. Was this, he asked, a time to abridge the amusements of the common people, when we were meditating the extension of the Game Laws to Ireland?

But the riots and confusion which the practice of Bull-baiting occasioned were urged as another reason for the necessity of the interference of the legislature. This was a favourite argument on a former occasion, when the subject was before the house, with an Honourable Friend of his (Mr. Wilberforce), Member for Yorkshire. In this instance the conduct of his Honourable Friend put him in mind of the story of the butcher, who ran about seeking his knife while it was in his teeth; for he was searching every quarter in quest of objects of reform, while those in his own neighbourhood were totally overlooked! When he condemned the excesses to which bull-baiting gave rise, had he forgotten all the confusion and riot which horse-racing produced? He himself did not object to the practice of horse-racing, since there were so many individuals to whom it was a source of pleasure. But he might be allowed to remind the house of the ob-

servation of Dr. Johnson, who had expressed his surprize at the paucity of human pleasures, when horse-racing constituted one of their number. Perhaps the anxiety displayed by many persons in the pursuit of this pleasure, might be considered as approximating to the efforts of the degenerate Emperors of Rome, to gratify a palate which luxury had rendered insensible to the ordinary materials of food. To horse-racing he was himself personally no more an enemy than he was to boxing — though in making this observation he was far from meaning to disparage boxing so far, as to put them on an equal footing, or to insinuate that so poor, mean, and wretched an amusement as the one, was at all to vie in importance with the other, which was connected with ideas of personal merit, and individual dignity. But he was confident, that in point of effect on the morals of the people, the influence of horse-racing was infinitely more pernicious than any which bull-baiting could produce. What, he desired the house to consider, did a horse-race consist of? What was the description of persons whom it encouraged to assemble? They consisted of all the riff-raff from every part of the country. There were to be seen collected all the black-legs of the metropolis, the markers at billiard-tables, apprentices who had embezzled the property of their masters, and who are afterwards obliged to resort to knavery to cover their fraud, ginderbread venders, strolling gamblers, in a word, infamous characters of every denomination. Such was the description of individuals whom horse-racing assembled. Now what was the object which

such an amusement had in view? He confessed himself unable to view it in any other light than as a species of gambling. It did not seem to him to give exercise for one generous feeling. His Honourable Friend had however taken a cumbrous leap over no less than nine racing-grounds in the county which he represented, and had never descended till he had alighted at a bull-bait. He had totally neglected the duty of destroying abuses at home, but had spent all his labour, and exerted all his zeal, in poaching in foreign manors. So much, he remarked, on the argument that bull-baiting was productive of riot and confusion.

He next recurred to the inexpediency of abridging the amusements of the lower orders at the present moment. There was a very numerous class of pleasures from which their circumstances in life excluded them. To the pleasures of intellect, that source of the purest delights of humanity, their situation denied them access. To the accommodations of social life, so far as a change of situation and place was concerned, they were strangers. The rich had their feasts, their assemblies, their parties of pleasure, their Pic Nics, every thing, in short, which could afford them gratification. From amusements of this kind the lower orders were excluded by their poverty. But there was another class of pleasures from which they were in a great measure excluded by the rigour of the law. The authority of the magistrate was often interposed to counteract even their harmless pleasures. To dance at all out of season, was to draw on their

heads the rigour of unrelenting justice. The great might gratify themselves in a thousand different ways, and the magistrate did not conceive it within his sphere to interrupt their amusements. But it was known that an organ did not sound more harshly in the ears of a Puritan, than did the notes of a fiddle in those of a magistrate, when he himself was not to be of the party. He made an allusion to a beautiful passage of a celebrated writer (Sterne), in which he describes the condition of the lower orders at the close of the day, when labour was finished, when families met together to join in social pleasures, when the old encouraged the sports of the young, and rejoiced in the amusements of their children. But what was all this when translated into plain English? It conveyed to us merely the idea of a hop. In confirmation of his ideas about the restraints to which the amusements of the lower orders are subjected, he referred to certain transactions which took place in a square at the west end of the town (Berkeley-square) a few years ago. The whole neighbourhood had been alarmed; the most serious apprehensions were excited; the aid of the military was judged necessary; and after all this idle pomp and authority, it was discovered that the formidable disturbers of the public peace were a few domestics dancing to the music of a blind sailor's fiddle. It was to be regretted that many Gentlemen should be anxious to deprive the lower orders of their amusements, from a seeming apprehension, that if they were suffered to enjoy those recreations they would not labour sufficiently, and might

become, from their improvidence, a burthen to the poor rates, to which the rich must contribute; this was a most injudicious system of thinking, and he cautioned the rich against acting upon it. The efficient part of the community for labour ought to be encouraged in their exertions rather by furnishing them with occasional amusements, than by depriving them of one, as this bill proposed — a bill, the supporters of which would take them to the Tabernacle or to Jacobinism — for, if to poverty were to be added a privation of amusements, he knew nothing that could operate more strongly to goad the mind into desperation, and to prepare the poor for that dangerous enthusiasm which is analogous to Jacobinism.

He objected to the way in which Gentlemen would wish the house to look at the consequences of bull-baiting, by citing particular accidents, and from them concluding that the practice was cruel, and that the bull in baiting was treated with cruelty; he believed the bull felt a satisfaction in the contest, not less so than the hound did when he heard the sound of the horn which summoned him to the chace. True it was, that young bulls, or those which were never baited before, shewed reluctance to be tied to the stake; but those bulls, which according to the language of the sport were called *game bulls*, who were used to baiting, approached the stake and stood there while preparing for the contest with the utmost composure. If the bull felt no pleasure, and was cruelly dealt with, surely the dogs had also some claim to compassion; but the fact was, that both

seemed equally arduous in the conflict; and the bull, like every other animal, while it had the better side, did not dislike his situation — it would be ridiculous to say he felt no pain — yet, when on such occasions he exhibited no sign of terror, it was a demonstrable proof that he felt some pleasure.

With regard to the petition from Stamford against this bill, it was entitled to the most respectful attention, for it came from a body of sober loyal men, who attended to their several vocations, and never meddled with politics, faithful to their landlord (the Marquis of Exeter), with whom, however, they could not avoid being a little displeased for his endeavours to deprive them of their favourite sport by supporting this bill. Those petitioners state, that this amusement had been enjoyed by their town, for a period of five or six hundred years, and the antiquity of the thing was deserving of respect — for respect for antiquity was the best preservation of the Church and State — it was by connecting the past with the present, and the present with the future, that genuine patriotism was produced and preserved.

He repeated that he was shocked and scandalized at the manner in which the advocates of this bill would persuade the house to act; to prohibit an old amusement because it was the amusement of the poor; for the objection was not to the *cruelty* of the amusement; if it were, the scope of the bill ought to be enlarged. Those Gentlemen seemed to be influenced by a species of philosophy dictated by their wives, one of whom might be supposed to address her husband thus: —

"My dear, do you know, that after you went out with your dogs this morning, I walked into the village, and was shocked to see a set of wretches at a bull-baiting, tormenting the poor animal. I wish, dear, you would speak to our Member, and request him to bring a bill into Parliament to prevent that horrid practice." —(A laugh).

Independent of the injustice of encroaching upon the few small amusements of the poor, he would beg the house to consider the consequence of rendering them discontented or dispirited, by leaving nothing for them but the wide waste of labour. The reason why our labourers were capable of more work than slaves, was obvious; because they felt that they worked for themselves; and, according as their profit, or their prospect of pleasure, which was the same thing, was increased, just so did their labour generally increase also. Such a bill as this, to abridge men's pleasures, and to hold out a kind of direct hint to them that they never could labour enough, was sufficient to Jacobinise a whole country. In proof of the assertion that bull-baiting did not operate to brutalize men's minds, he had only to turn the attention of the house to Lancashire and Staffordshire, where that practice principally prevailed. Those counties were known to produce the best soldiers in the army, and the militia of Staffordshire were known to have been selected, from their good behaviour, to do duty about the Royal Person; a pretty good proof that bull-baiting did not produce such effects on the morals of the people as the Puritans affected to deplore, but

rather such as the Jacobins in France and England very sincerely lamented. It was mockery in men to talk of the sufferings of animals from the sports of the lower orders, while they themselves were doing something worse. To the difference between the jolly bull-baiting peasant and his demure gloomy censors, he would apply the words of the poet —

> "Tom struts a soldier, open, bold and brave;
> "Will sneaks a scrivener, an exceeding knave."

The Right Honourable Gentleman concluded with stating, that if the bill before the house should be adopted, he should, for the sake of consistency and the character of parliament, conceive it his duty to move for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit hunting, shooting, fishing, and all the sports of the field practised by the higher orders.

The Bill was supported by Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Sheridan, and opposed by Colonel Grosvenor, General Gascoyne, and Mr. Frankland.

The question being put, "That the Bill be now read a second time," General Gascoyne rose, and moved as an Amendment, "That it be read a second time this day three months." On which Amendment the house divided:

Ayes - - - -	64
Noes - - - -	51
Majority against the Bill	13

The Bill was consequently lost.

MONASTIC INSTITUTION BILL.

June 23, 1800.

THE order of the day being read on a Bill for placing under certain regulations the Monastic Institutions in this kingdom,

MR. WINDHAM spoke to the following effect:

SIR,

DID any necessity exist for a restraining measure of this kind, I know none more unexceptionable than the present one proposed. But with all the inquiries I have been able to make, and with all the sagacity I have been able to exercise, though I have even strained my eyes to find out a plausible or sufficient cause for the present proceeding, I have been wholly disappointed in my object. Instead of the Roman Catholic religion springing up again into importance, its friends have to fear a change of quite a different kind. I myself have upon some occasions been considered as a pretty good alarmist, though on the present one my feelings, I confess, are rather obtuse. Whether or no my fears for the common safety of Europe may absorb all other considerations of danger, or that I see things in a juster point of light than those who sup-

port the Bill, I will not pretend to say.—What, however, can be more absurd, than to suppose that in the present order of things, in this æra of the world, at the latter end of the eighteenth century, (or if you please at the beginning of the nineteenth), in the tenth year of the French revolution, in the general renunciation of every popish tenet throughout Europe, when the fate even of that quarter of the globe is trembling in the balance, and the period is arrived which much either establish or overturn for ever the power of France, any just apprehension can be entertained of the spread and dominion of popery?—Some Gentlemen there are, of heated imaginations, who attribute all the calamities which have lately arisen to the effects and operation of popery. Popery, they say, produced the D'Alemberts, the Diderots, and the Voltaires, who in their turn contributed to its downfall; and even our countrymen Hume and Gibbon were made infidels by the horrors of popery. The opinions of such persons, then, it seems, have produced these calamities; and in the time of these calamities, the re-production of those opinions which originally gave birth to them is become matter of serious dread and expectation. Those who reason in this way make use of an admirable antiperistasis. Qualities are said sometimes to produce their opposites; thus heat produces cold. On this principle, indeed, the effects of infidelity, with all its concurrent circumstances, may be to produce religion. But, on taking a survey of Europe, I cannot see any imminent danger of this sort.

But what is the danger spoken of? Why, there are three or four thousand emigrant priests in the country. I admit, this argument, taken by itself, is a good one; but Gentlemen ought to look further. In the time of Agricola, the northern inhabitants of this island were held in disregard, and did not much invite the Roman arms. From this they supposed they were braver than their southern neighbours, who were conquered by the Romans. — To apply this to the present occasion, I would say, we see four or five thousand popish priests in this country. These are the wreck of three hundred thousand who once flourished in France, but were suppressed. A few stragglers only have come to us, who happily survived the destruction of the Gallic church. This general overthrow and abasement have weakened more the Catholic faith than any endeavours of the remaining few who adhere to it can effect towards its restoration. They have no idea of the kind. They esteem themselves weak and fallen. The supporters of the present bill only swell them into importance, and suppose them capable of performing a task their more numerous brethren were unequal to. Those who have fled to us for protection are but miserable remains as to their means and power, though not as to the virtues they have uniformly displayed. What danger then can be suspected from them? Where the means are so disproportionate, why should we fear the end? I must consider, therefore, this bill as wholly useless. Where no danger exists, no precaution is necessary — where no disease, no remedy. When I think of the readiness with which

persons are apt to call for the interference of the house, I consider it as one of the evils of the times. The courts below keep up their price — there we find no frivolous applications; the experiment is too costly — parliament only is cheap. The legislature is as accessible as the parish pump: it may be worked by the first man who chooses to put his hand to it.

This alone is a sufficient reason why the vote of the house should put a stop to the further progress of the bill. If, however, we are to go on with it, let us consider what other objections there may be. The form of an argument has been adduced in its support,

> "It form indeed it had, which form had none
> "Distinguishable in member, joint or limb,"

that these miserable remains of the church of France will revive the monkish superstitions. — But how can this be the case; or, if it was, what mischiefs could ensue? What is there so abhorrent in a convent; or, what danger is to be apprehended from one sect more than another? I do not mean to go into the question of monastic institutions, or to undertake their defence; but I will say, that nothing can be more weak, indecent, or offensive, than the arguments generally adduced against them. Why any person who voluntarily consigns himself to mortifying penalties and solitude should be condemned and restrained in the free exercise of his wishes, I know not: piety, to be sure, may not require the many privations he lays himself under; but let him either be an ascetic or a maniac, it is no concern of mine. The effect of his

conduct is confined to himself, and is the concern of no other person. In no one instance has the hostility of protestant divines been more displayed than against the ascetics of the church of Rome. Man, by his nature, perhaps, is more apt to find fault with and condemn those excessive virtues which put him to the blush, than the blackest and most extravagant vices. Every man is the rule of his own conduct. One disposition may require more mortification than another, and the stronger should possess charity for the weaker brother. Some may be driven

> "To leave a world where strong temptations lie,
> "And when they cannot conquer learn to fly."

I should be glad to know why a society of ancient maids, who may unite together, and agree not to go beyond their garden walls, are less respectable or less virtuous than the same number of ladies dispersed abroad, who collect parties at whist, or at any other amusement.

It is a matter worthy of consideration what researches have been carried on in monasteries, what inventions thence take their origin, and what voyages missionaries from that school have performed. This circumstance makes us respect the inhabitants of cloisters and their institutions. The hope of a convent has been the support of many. It is a last retreat, where they shun the cares and misfortunes of life. In this country, however, such an institution is graced with no veneration; its devotees are not marked with any peculiar degree of sanctity. One great cause, therefore, of

forsaking the world by seclusion in these places, is wanting in this country. When the church of Rome was in the plenitude of its power, the proselytes to its tenets were numerous, and its doctrines thus brought into exercise might be attended with some danger in this country. Now, however, when the predominance of another persuasion exists, and in the degraded state of the Catholic church besides, a papist is no more an object of fear or suspicion than any other sectary. Toleration demands that a state should be indifferent to all religious opinions which do not affect its own internal tranquillity or safety. A state, I own, has a right to patronise what establishment it pleases, but not to suppress the freedom of opinion or dissent. Some opinions, it is true, are dangerous, and these a state should not be indifferent to. Such were the opinions of the United Irishmen. But if a set of nuns choose to make vows of celibacy, it is voluntary on their part, and no restraint should be imposed upon them. If, therefore, without any danger from popery, you attempt to lay its professors under needless restrictions, you legislate on very delicate grounds. It is right to save one man from the act of another, but not to save him from the act of himself. According to the best information I have received, I do not believe that the interior of a convent is that scene of vice or woe which it has most commonly been represented to be; and if persons choose to spend their lives within such walls, the legislature have no right to rescue them from their own determinations.

By this bill persons are to be prevented from making vows; but there is no instance, I believe, of a woman in an English convent who has not passed her noviciate in another country. But, to go back to the subject of converts, I say that the law should not interfere to prevent converts to popery, any more than to any other sects and persuasions. If, indeed, conversion to popery were an evil, law is not its proper remedy. The divines of the established church should feed their flocks with spiritual food, and thus enable them to withstand the poison of delusion. Instead of this, they are too fond of raising the cry, "the church is in danger!" If proselytism exists, it is a disgrace only to that clergyman in whose parish it takes place. What, if they do their duty, can members of the church of England fear? They meet their antagonists on more than equal terms. Should any one indeed attempt to preach up the rights of man, or teach insubordination to lawful authority; to silence such would then be a work of necessity: but popery has nothing in it of this dangerous tendency, and may be met fairly in the field of argument. But if a line of conduct be adopted similar to that which induces persons to apply to the legislature to protect themselves by penalties and statutes, where they are entirely careless about themselves, and would rather defend their property by acts of parliament than by a quickset hedge; what can persons thus acting expect, but that advantage should be taken of their supineness? Success, and the protection of the laws, belong rightly to a different class, *Vigilantibus non dormientibus.*

Penal laws can never defend the country against popery. I cannot help making the remark here, that opinion may be too much under the protection of law. A little opposition is no bad thing, it makes persons attentive to their duty, and may be as useful in the church as in the senate. In the physical and moral body, opposition tends to keep up the proper tone of health. Did the earth spontaneously produce every thing for the use of man, the short-sighted philosopher might say it was well; but nature has wisely ordained it otherwise. Every thing valuable is to be acquired and preserved by labour. In this point of view I should deprecate the bill Gentlemen wish to bring in, as it tends to narrow the field of intellectual exercise and fair discussion.

Another objection against the bill is, that it raises prejudices in the minds of the illiberal, against a number of unoffending persons, who have fled to our shores from the tempest which threatened their destruction. — When this shall subside, they will be very ready to seek their own country again, and carry all their offensive customs and sentiments along with them. But why should we send them back lame and crippled? While they remain here, it is not generous to mark them out as objects of public scorn and suspicion. An Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. T. Jones) has called this a nun-baiting bill. I, however, am their defender; and the bull himself turned into a baiter, is running furiously among the nuns. As to danger to the state, every person must scout the idea. If conversion be the evil complained

of, why is that greater in this case than in that of the sectaries? I have heard it as an argument for the bill, that if it will do no great good, it will do no hurt; but this I deny, so long as unjust prejudice is liable to spring from it. I therefore vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Sir Henry Mildmay (with whom the Bill had originated), Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Dudley Ryder, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Perceval, supported the Bill; Mr. Hobhouse, Sir William Scott, Mr. Sheridan, and Dr. Lawrence opposed it. On a division, the numbers were,

For the Speaker's leaving the Chair -	52
Against it - - - -	24
Majority -	28

The Bill, with some modifications, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords.

CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR.

July 9, 1800.

MR. WESTERN, after noticing the rejection of the Overtures of Peace which were made by the enemy in the preceding January, moved, "That this house do now resolve itself into a "Committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the state "of the nation." Mr. Wilberforce opposed, and Mr. W. Smith supported the motion.

MR. WINDHAM observed, that however improper he might consider this motion at the present time, or in the present circumstances, a time might come, and circumstances might exist, when such a discussion would become necessary; and were he then to enter into that discussion, he would turn his attention to one side of the question which Gentlemen seemed entirely to have forgotten. There were dangers in peace as well as in war; and though the country could never be in both at the same time, but must be either in a state of war or a state of peace, in discussing the question of peace or war, it was necessary to consider and estimate the dangers of both. This country was now in a state of war; consequently, at present we only

felt the calamities of war, and the dangers of peace were overlooked and forgotten. But there must be dangers in peace, or else war would never be necessary, and no nation could ever be justified in running into it. Therefore, in discussing the question of peace or war, whether it was, that the nation being at peace, it was proposed to enter into war, or that, the nation being engaged in war, it was proposed to make peace, it was necessary that the dangers of peace in the one case should be enforced, for this could be the sole justification of going to war — and in the other, duly considered, that the country might not be involved in greater danger than that in which it was placed in the state of war. For his own part, however sanguine his hopes, and however earnest his wishes had been at times during this war for peace, and he confessed that he wished as earnestly for peace as any man, yet he had never considered it as remarkably desirable, without the restoration of such a government in France as he had often expressed his wish to see established in that country; because, without this, he feared that any peace would be insecure and dangerous. The only ground that had been stated against this, was general declamation on the superior advantages of peace; that it was the least of two evils, and on the principle of *Pax potior bello.* Were he then to discuss the question, his attention would be directed as well to the dangers of peace as the evils of war, that the statement might be fair, and full grounds given upon which to decide. But he would not at present go into this point. The question of peace or

war was properly the business and the function of the Executive Government; at the same time, the right of the house to examine into the conduct of the Executive Government, to superintend its measures, and to give its advice, no person would or could dispute. But there was a fair question for discussion in the house, before it consented so to interfere; whether or not its interference was expedient, proper and justifiable? If the existence of an important crisis alone were a sufficient reason for this interference, and for adopting measures of the kind now proposed, the house might be in a perpetual committee; not a battle fought, nor a treaty concluded, nor the desertion of an ally, but might be made the ground of a motion for the house resolving into a committee on the state of the nation. It might be continually giving its advice to the Executive, and, in short, the Government would be in a constant commission. To justify such a motion, such a crisis must not only exist, but some probable ground must be given for inferring that the Government would not act wisely; and this could only be done by proving that there had been a delinquency in its previous conduct. But even this would not be sufficient to authorize such an interference as that now proposed, because, as the removal of ministers would follow its adoption, it must be proved, that the delinquency was so great as to require their removal, and that the crisis is so urgent as to require the interference of the house to effect this removal more speedily than the change could be effected in the usual way.

The Honourable Gentleman had stated some grounds, on which he argued that confidence ought to be withdrawn from ministers. First, That they had judged ill of persons, both allies and enemies. Secondly, That they had predicted falsely of events. Thirdly, That they had failed in taking advantage of important conjunctures, and of making the most of the means in their power. These points he would review, and lightly touch upon. Upon their judging ill of persons, he instanced first the King of Prussia; but he must premise, that except frequent instances were given, nothing ought to be deduced from a single disappointment. It was said that we subsidized him, and that he deserted us. True, we did subsidize him; but did we not receive at the time full compensation for that subsidy? We had subsidized Austria too. But had it not happened, that with the allies which we had had, and the subsidies we had given to them, though some of them, as in the nature of all human things might be expected, had proved more faithful than others; though some of them had from time to time deserted us, and others wavered, we had been enabled to weather every storm that had threatened our existence? Gentlemen talked loudly and insisted largely on their subsidies. They were continually talking of their money given. He thought that they might find some other more worthy subjects to dwell upon, in the exertions and in the spirit of the country, than its money. But had they not had their money's worth of assistance? Had not what money we had advanced to Austria been fully repaid by Austria?

Gentlemen argued that many plans had failed, that success had not been proportionate to what was predicted: but success was never absolutely promised, and it never could be; for failure was incidental to all human projects and designs: if the success of our allies had not been so great as it might possibly have been, no argument of any weight could be deduced from this; and it ought to be recollected that the assistance of these very allies, Austria and Prussia, had saved us from great evils and dangers. The Emperor of Russia was adduced as another instance of the incapacity of ministers to judge of characters, and a circumstance was stated relative to Malta, as if his being thwarted in obtaining possession of that island was the cause of his defection. He would not say, that the Honourable Gentleman had not as good information as any person could have, except those who, from their official capacities, must have the means of acquiring the best intelligence: but he certainly was most completely mistaken in this point; and this circumstance shewed how little even the best informed people might be acquainted with the private transactions and connections of the Executive Government, and also how cautious the house ought to be, of listening to or depending upon such statements; for if they did, it proved that very frequently they must fall into complete error. The next instance given was that of Bavaria. Had the Honourable Gentleman read the last dispatches from Germany? if he had, had he not perceived that the Bavarian troops might have been the means of gaining a battle. And the importance

of such a service as this, the importance of gaining a battle, was evinced by every part of the argument of the other side, which all rested, and was professed to rest, upon the adverse event of a battle in Italy. With respect to Russia, however, he must still observe, that surely we had received the full compensation of any subsidy we might have given to her. Only look at the last campaign; it presented to our view Italy delivered and rescued from the power and possession of the enemy, principally by the arms and exertions of Russia. (A cry of "hear! hear!" from the opposition bench). "Gentlemen call out, hear! yes, hear: What is it that makes us so much lament the loss of the co-operation of Russia, but the recollection of the mighty and important services which she performed when she did co-operate with us? The Honourable Gentleman says, that ministers have not judged better of their enemies than their allies; and here he comes to the theme of so many praises, the object of so much admiration, the subject of such warm and animated panegyrics, the First Consul! and with regard to him, he asks, if every person must not be convinced that ministers sincerely repent and wish to retract, and would gladly efface from their own memories, and those of every other person, the abuse and invectives which they formerly lavished upon him? But I know of no invective of which I should repent. I say no other language was ever used but the serious and dignified language which honest and honourable men would use in speaking of his conduct? And how have subsequent events contradicted

this language? It is said, that he was loaded with hard names. I always have understood, by hard names, some vague and indefinite terms common to all languages, which express only something indefinite and vague in the mind of the person who applies them; but have never heard any such names given to this First Consul. It is also said, that we have loaded him with abuse. If by this is meant the low language sometimes used by the vulgar, I have heard no such language used in speaking of the First Consul. But if, when it is said that invectives have been pronounced against him, if Gentlemen mean those epithets applied to his conduct, and those terms which are necessary to express the fact, then I allow that such language has been used, and I neither repent nor will retract it. If I did, I should fall into the same error with the man who, having lost a pair of silk stockings, and wishing to advertise them, thought that he would be likely to recover them at less expence by advertising them as worsted. I despise, and cannot describe such things in the silken language, when the plain worsted only can truly represent them. I reprobate such fastidious, womanish, affected delicacy, as if a man "could not mention hell to ears polite." — Am I speaking of a man who has desolated Europe? — who has excited the indignation of every virtuous mind by his crimes — who has pillaged and plundered Italy, and must I affect not to speak of his crimes, his outrageous violence, of his oppression, his pillage, and his robbery? Would Gentlemen have me to be afraid of distinguishing the conduct of Buona-

parté, by the terms in which alone it can be described; like *Scrub* in the Comedy, who, thinking there are thieves in the house, begins by calling them thieves; but afterwards, under the impression of terror, corrects himself, by calling them the honest gentlemen who are robbing the house. I must allow that this man has great talent, of some kind or other; he has proved this, to our misfortune. I say of some sort or another, because his military talents cannot be denied. But, at the same time it must be remembered, that military successes must be judged with some reserve, as they frequently are as much attributable to fortune as to talents. Besides, I must declare it to be my opinion, that the campaign of Suwarrow in Italy may well be compared to any of the campaigns, even this so celebrated one, of the First Consul. I must however allow that there is enough formidable in this man to give alarm to Europe. The moderation and magnanimity of his measures since he came into power has been much insisted upon. The motives of his conduct were in his own mind, and I cannot deny that he knows the way to his own ends. This it is that renders him so formidable. But Gentlemen who are so indignant at the invectives pronounced on their favourite, the First Consul, and the enemy of this country, it will be recollected are not themselves so very mealy mouthed when they choose to censure the closest allies of this country. When they speak of Prussia, of Austria, and of Russia, they themselves do not spare abuse, nor do they shew much tender-

ness when they speak of Gentlemen who stand in the situation in which I stand."

Among other arguments, Gentlemen, he said, had contended, that it was impossible that the present ministers could make a peace with the French Republic; undoubtedly, in other words, that they could not enter into a system of fraternization with the present rulers of that country; and it was inferred from thence, that the peace must be disadvantageous, because administration would not look to it as an object which was desirable for the country, but as the lesser of two evils. The extent to which Gentlemen pushed their arguments upon this subject appeared to him rather extraordinary; did they think, that in negociating for a peace all ideas of precaution were to be laid aside, and that Government were to confine their views merely to a termination of the war, without any consideration of the permanency of the peace, or the security which it procured? Did they consider a treaty of peace with France as a treaty of marriage, in which one party could not doubt the sincere affection or the honourable intention of the other — in which the parties were to be indissolubly united with an identity of interest, and an unity of object — in which England was not only to give its hand but its heart? But if, for the reasons which had been urged, the present ministers were not capable of making a peace, surely it became a matter of serious consideration, whether it would be more advantageous for the country that those persons should negociate, who would at once, without precaution or security, jump into the arms of France, who would

consider it as criminal to haggle about terms with the dear French, Republic? In the course of their arguments, Gentlemen had had recourse to one consideration which they very seldom omitted, viz. the sense of the people; and they had referred to the funds as a criterion of public opinion. The Honourable Gentleman who used that argument had made an admission, for which he thanked him; for he confessed that the funds would rise upon the prospect of a peace, even though that peace might be founded on terms disadvantageous to the country. If that was true, then they could not be considered as affording good grounds by which to judge of the real interests of the country. If, indeed, the Honourable Gentleman's arguments on this part of the subject were well founded, then there would be reason to despond—then there would be some reason for the calumny which the enemy had insolently thrown out against this country, viz. that we were a nation of shopkeepers, and that we would at any time sell our most valuable interests for a profit of 2 per cent. It was not by acting upon such narrow principles as these that the French had risen to their present power, and had become an object of so much terror to the Gentlemen on the other side of the house. Those Gentlemen weighed the conduct of the two countries by very unequal measures. They contended for the greatness of Buonaparté and of the French nation; but if they were great, it was not by the adoption of such conduct as that which was now recommended, that they became so. If they were in that situation which had

been represented, it was because they were not driven into despondency by every reverse of fortune, nor gave up great designs because, in some instances, their efforts were unsuccessful. Gentlemen had talked of the commerce of the country; but did they suppose that the commerce was created by the present military and naval exertions of the country, or that it could exist without them? Most undoubtedly, if our commerce was not protected by our power, it would become an easy prey to our rivals.

The Honourable Gentleman in the course of his speech had, rather unfortunately for his argument, asked how did King William preserve the confederacy of which he was the head? He would tell the Honourable Gentleman how he preserved that confederacy together: it was by adhering strictly to his engagements; it was, by not suffering himself to be driven from his purposes by the mere rumour of a defeat. But now Gentlemen were at once for going into a committee, without knowing the circumstances of that defeat about which they were so much alarmed, and without knowing any thing about the disposition or the resources of that ally which we were going to abandon. Gentlemen had always spoken of our allies as if they had been of no assistance to this country; but there was no man who considered the subject fairly, who would not admit that the advantages we had received from our allies were great, even though in every instance they might not fully answer our expectations. There was, however, upon this as well as upon many other parts of this subject, something

very singular in the mode of reasoning adopted by the Gentlemen on the other side of the house; for, in the first place, they had endeavoured to demonstrate the absurdity of attempting to keep any great confederacy together, and immediately after they considered the defection of some of our allies as a matter of charge against His Majesty's ministers. Another accusation which had been made was, that ministers had been mistaken in their predictions; now, in the first place, he did not recollect that any predictions had been made. His Majesty's ministers had stated, that which was obvious to all the world, viz. that they were going to enter into a most arduous and doubtful conflict; but that they were about to enter into it with every advantage, from the number and discipline of the troops of our allies, and the skill of the generals by whom they were commanded. Now, in such a contest one party must fail; just as when two men rode upon a horse, one must ride behind; but no predictions were made, though great expectations might have been formed, from the advantages we possessed. Gentlemen, however, judging by the event, now contended that the Austrians must have been defeated; but he did not recollect, that before the event they hazarded any prediction of that kind: they had, indeed, declared generally against the war, and now laid hold of these reverses, which they had not foreseen, to prove the wisdom of their observations. His Majesty's ministers knew as well as the Gentlemen on the other side of the house, that such a contest could not be conducted without danger; but the ques-

tion was, whether they had not taken every means which human prudence could suggest to prevent it? Allusions had been made upon this occasion, as well as upon many others, to the negociations at Paris and at Lisle. His opinion respecting them was but of little consequence, it could have but little weight in the councils of the country; but surely those very negociations were a proof that ministers were willing to enter into a negociation whenever they saw there was the least probability of effecting an honourable peace for this country; and they shewed that ministers did not think that any such opportunity now presented itself, or they would not have neglected it. He would, however, state, with respect to those negociations, that if ever, during the progress of the present war, this country was really in danger, it was at the period when they were carrying on; it was, that the enemy would have acceded to the terms which we then proposed. He was firmly of opinion, that if we had made peace at that time, with the general despondency which then prevailed, but which subsequent events had fortunately dissipated, they would not now be sitting to discuss the state of the nation. Gentlemen recommended ministers to enter into a negociation for peace, with a confession that they were unable to carry on the war; but surely every rational man must admit, that a peace concluded under such circumstances must destroy the interests and dignity of the country.

The present war had upon this and upon former occasions been compared with the American war: but he did not see how two wars could be well com-

pared together, or how Gentlemen could argue from the past events of one, to the probable events of another. The Honourable Gentleman had stated, that the present war, like that with America, was founded in delusion, had been conducted without ability, and would end in defeat. There was, however, one point in which the two wars were similar; and that was, that they both were civil wars, in which men for the first time learnt to wish well to the enemies of their country. He was ready to confess, that he was a well-wisher to the Americans (there was a cry of "hear! hear!" on the opposition side); he begged to observe to those Gentlemen, that if he wished success to the Americans, they had been our fellow-subjects; they were, he might almost say, our countrymen: their object was not the complete destruction of this country. He confessed, that during the American war he thought the success of the Americans essential to the interests of this country; and he begged leave to ask the Gentlemen on the other side, if they now entertained the same sentiments with respect to the French? Upon the whole, the question for the consideration of the house was, whether there had been laid before them sufficient grounds to induce them to go into the Committee now proposed, and to interfere with the Executive Government; they would have to consider whether, after the event of the negociations at Paris and at Lisle, they ought not to be very cautious how they entered into negociations with such an enemy. It appeared to him, that no sufficient ground had been

laid down for the interference proposed, and therefore he should give the motion his most decided negative.

After Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Tierney had spoken in favour of the motion, and Mr. Hiley Addington, the Solicitor-General, and some other Members against it, the house divided, when there appeared,

For the motion - - - -	27
Against it - - - -	143
Majority -	116

NEGOCIATION FOR PEACE.

December 1, 1800.

MR. SHERIDAN moved, "That an humble Address be "presented to His Majesty, humbly to assure him that we have "taken into our most serious consideration the papers relative to "the Negociations for Peace with France, and that the result of "our reflections on this important subject, founded as well on due "examination of the documents now referred to us, as on expe-"rience of the past conduct of most of His Majesty's allies, is "an humble, but earnest desire, that His Majesty will omit no "proper opportunity which may arise, consistently with the good "faith ever preserved on the part of His Majesty, of entering "into a separate negociation with the Government of France for "a speedy and honourable peace; and farther to implore His "Majesty, not to sanction any new engagements which shall "preclude such a mode of negociation." The motion having been seconded,

MR. WINDHAM, Secretary at War, spoke to the following effect;

SIR,

I CANNOT say that the Honourable Gentleman has brought forward much new matter upon the present occasion, and therefore the necessity of answering every thing he has advanced is the less: indeed the

Honourable Gentleman himself did not feel that a great deal was necessary by way of reply to him, from the manner in which he put many points. Perhaps little more is requisite than merely to re-state what I have already stated on various occasions.

The Honourable Gentleman, in setting out, was quite as magnanimous as any of the illustrious characters on whom he has been descanting; as he maintains that, although you are now in a situation of great public danger, and contending with a powerful enemy; requiring the greatest exertion on your part to preserve you from destruction, yet you are to detach yourselves from all assistance, and that whatever other power may be exposed to danger also, as well as yourselves, they shall detach themselves likewise; and that your exertions, however great it is necessary they should be, should be made by each party *separately*, and not *jointly*.—This is a proposition sufficiently extensive, and I should think difficult to be maintained; not agreeable to the present practice of mankind in general, not very consonant to the present state and condition of things, nor, according to my view of policy, well adapted for the alliances which this country ever did form, or is likely to form, with other powers, or even with such alliances as the Honourable Gentleman himself has stated, allowing merely for the sake of argument, but without prejudice to the facts, that he has stated them and their bearing correctly. The Honourable Gentleman however did not confine himself to that course, but followed a practice which is well known to him and other Gentlemen on that side

of the house, whose conduct in debate, in the whole course of this war, is too striking to be forgotten. They not only dwell on the manner in which they sometimes alledge an ally has been faithless to us, but they argue, that whatever has happened of defection in any of the confederate powers, arises out of the very nature of the alliance itself, in the course of the present contest; so that the case is argued by them, in the outset of the business, as if the best way for us, who are confederates, would be to keep aloof from one another, and try, separately, our power. Why really, Sir, there is attached to this assertion a degree of extravagance, and even ridicule, that prevents one making many observations on it, since it is difficult, if not impossible, for any observation to answer it better than the statement answers itself. It is a contradiction to all the experience of ages, of fathers putting arms into the hands of their sons to assist them to repel the force of a common enemy, and a thousand instances in the most ancient history, as well as modern practice. If the Honourable Gentleman was not one of those who never sacrifice a friend to a joke, I should have thought he had borrowed this mode of arguing from a friend of his, who is not here at present, and who deals a good deal in what is called irony. This mode of arguing in favour of the separate exertions of confederates, reminds me of " Dr. Swift's Advice to Servants;" a celebrated production, where absurd advice is given, and supported by absurd arguments or reasons; he advises the house-maid to put a pail of dirty water on the foot of the stairs, and says to the maid,

"I. although people may break their shins against it, yet your mistress will see by this how busy you have been in cleaning the house." The Honourable Gentleman not only admits, but reminds us, that we are involved in a tremendous contest with a mighty foe, who is indeed more powerful than any force that can be opposed to him, and yet he thinks that the allies should not co-operate, but separate their efforts — For what reason? Because you cannot depend on each other, although you are united in a sense of common danger! — He says, "Take care not to make any alliances, because, if you do, you cannot have the full command of all your own strength so as to exert it in your own way, and your allies may be obstacles to you in making peace." — This is like telling those who are attacked, and are protected by a garrison, that the better way for them is to dismantle the fortification, to throw down the wall, and remove every thing about them, because then they can fight in the open field without difficulty; thus they will be perfectly free and unrestrained. That you are under some restraint when in a place strongly fortified, is true; and that all restraint is in some degree an evil, must be admitted also. That it is desirable for a country to put itself into the situation in which it may bind others, and not be bound itself, is a truth; but then it is a truth so well known, that others will not allow us to take any advantage from it; and you cannot have the advantage of an alliance, without the disadvantage of it also. It is in this situation that we stand, in which the advantages and the disadvantages must be taken together.

Indeed, had the Honourable Gentleman not brought this subject forward in the way he has done, and had I been ignorant of the principles by which he is guided, I should have thought it impossible, while you carry on this war, that any person should propose for you to carry it on without alliances, while it is in your power to have any, especially while it is in your power to have such an alliance as that of Austria. This is the general proposition of the Honourable Gentleman: he says, you ought now to abandon your connection with Austria; and this proposition he follows up by saying that no good can ever come of this war, unless all the confederate powers of Europe separate their strength, and take the contest single-handed against France. In contending this, the Honourable Gentleman is neither inconsistent with his own principles, nor with the principles of those with whom he acts; for this is the state into which their politics are aimed to bring us.

The Honourable Gentleman states an argument on what he calls the conduct of the powers with whom we have been in alliance in this war; and he charges them, generally, with having been perfidious in their engagements with us. To this part of the Honourable Gentleman's statement I must beg leave to object; for I do not think that we have reason to complain, in many respects, even of the breach of faith: certainly not as he states it. Some of these powers indeed have manifested a weakness, and have shewn what is the natural defect and may be the ruin of all con-

federacies, that of each power suffering itself to be occupied by its own separate pursuit, and a blind attachment to what appears upon the surface to be its own interest, without having an enlarged view of that interest, which is always blended with that of its allies and associates. Such a weakness is most unquestionably material, and whenever it occurs to be lamented, yet the conclusion of the Honourable Gentleman is not made good, namely, that the cause of Europe is not benefitted by this war, even in the points in which the confederates have most failed. This is a point which I am not now going to make out in detail; but I will observe here, by the way, that if a power, after having assisted you for a while, leave you, it is not correct to say you have lost by that power, you have lost only the benefit of a continuance of its support; you cannot, with any propriety of reasoning, be said to have lost any thing else, for indeed you may have gained much: and that is indeed our case in the present instance, for we have benefitted much by the efforts of the allies while they continued in the common cause.—I admit that, by serving us, they served themselves also; and indeed it is true in almost all the affairs of this life, that men, when they pursue their own interests, generally serve those of others in society. This is true of states as well as of individuals. I lament that any of the powers of Europe should have so narrow a view of their own welfare as to withdraw or slacken their efforts in the common cause; but that does not in the least degree warrant the conclusion of

the Honourable Gentleman, that we should also slacken ours by separating from that common cause. And now I would say, that whatever may have taken place before, supposing we were to start *rebus sic stantibus*, and the question was, whether you would now consent to lose Austria, and try to go on upon your own strength without her co-operation, it is your manifest interest to go on in conjunction with Austria.

The great argument of the Honourable Gentleman against it is what he terms the history of the conduct of Austria, upon which the Honourable Gentleman goes into some detail; and he states that she attempted some measures for her own aggrandizement in Italy, when she separated from this country. To this I would observe, shortly, that this pursuit, although apparently for her own aggrandizement, was in reality for her own security; and this was not injurious to us, nor would have been so if it had eventually succeeded, unless it can be shewn that there was no necessity for a counterpoise to the enormous power and most enormous ambition of France. I am not quite sure that I rightly understood the Honourable Gentleman, when he stated this conduct as a desertion of our interest on the part of Austria; but, in point of fact, the Honourable Gentleman's statement was erroneous in date. He has alluded to the battle of Marengo, and he accused the Court of Vienna of having availed itself of the fate of that battle to enter into a treaty with us. The truth of the matter is, that the treaty to which he alludes was in considerable forwardness before the event

of that battle was known, and even before it took place; therefore the Honourable Gentleman cannot say it was entered into in consequence of the event of that battle, unless he can shew that Austria knew the event of it some time before it happened. I cannot therefore see any breach of faith in the Court of Vienna upon this occasion.

The next point to which the statement of the Honourable Gentleman refers, I think, is the case of the Count St. Julien. He says, that Count St. Julien must have had power to sign the preliminaries at Paris, because he had a letter from the Emperor. Now, upon this, I do not see any necessary connection between a letter, the contents of which the Honourable Gentleman has, I presume, no means of knowing, and full power to treat as he did. Upon this the Honourable Gentleman makes a conclusion without premises: he concludes that this letter contains full powers, because he does not know them; and he calls for the production of the document. I do not feel it quite fair for me, who may be supposed to be acquainted with the contents of some documents to which the Honourable Gentleman refers, but which have not been laid before the public, to argue much on them: but I will say, that Count St. Julien had no such powers; that it is so declared from Vienna, and he has declared it himself; and this appears by the papers that have been published. What credit is given to such papers by some persons, I do not know; but this I do know, that such credit neither is nor can be lessened by the non-pro-

duction of the papers for which the Honourable Gentleman calls; and if so, neither the purpose of the Honourable Gentleman nor of the enemy will be answered. Besides, there is no reason to suppose that those papers which are not produced would, if they were published, reflect any discredit on this country or Vienna; for, as they are in the power of the enemy, who have never been over-scrupulous upon points of state affairs or diplomatic delicacy, especially when they want to support their own cause, they might publish them, and therefore as they have not done so, I apprehend the house will hardly follow the conclusion of the Honourable Gentleman in this particular.

Then, Sir, as I recollect it, the Honourable Gentleman proceeded on a different line of argument from that which I have hitherto been considering, that of the general conduct of ministers: much of what he said upon this part of the subject appears to me to be so little to the purpose, that I shall not attempt to follow him; nor shall I attempt to go over the ground which he has dwelt so long upon, that of our alliances not being wisely chosen. He insists, however, not very advantageously for his own argument I think, upon our insincerity in the negociation: what that has to do with our alliance with other powers, supposing his inference to be true, I am not able to see; how one of these applies to the other I do not know; I can only recollect that he stated both; why he did so is best known to him, I am not capable of perceiving any connection between them. The only way in which it

appears to me that he can apply it is as an advocate for Austria; for otherwise I cannot see what use he can make of the insincerity of ministers in this country; supposing the charge to be well founded: this is much too old a topic to require much observation. He says, that I appeared to be surprised at what he said. I was indeed surprised a little; not at the proposition which he laid down, for it was absolutely simple; but my surprise was at the total change of the language of the Honourable Gentleman, as compared with what he and his friends have used on former occasions. But, not to dwell on these topics, I would say, that not only the arguments made use of on this subject are worth nothing, but the very mode they adopt refutes itself. The very nature of the transaction excludes insincerity on our part. Indeed it is impossible that the question of sincerity should arise upon it. If the house examines it, the propriety of this observation must be apparent. I need not remind the house, that what I now speak of relates to the late negociation at Lisle. — Why, Sir, a negociation between states, is like a bargain between individuals. The negociation is the beginning of a treaty, the bargaining is the beginning of a bargain. Why, then, I say, that, according to the common sense and common parlance of mankind, you never introduced the idea of sincerity into a *bargain*. We have all heard of sincerity in friendship — of sincerity in love — but we never heard of sincerity in a bargain. — For instance, when a man buys a good estate, it would sound oddly if any one

were to say, "Aye, aye, it is very true, it is a very fine estate, and I hear that such a one has bought it; but I am afraid that he is not sincere in the purchase:" —or if it was a cheap purchase, that one should say, "I hear it was sold for a song, but I do not believe they were sincere in the sale." The truth is, that sincerity is a thing which has no bearing upon the subject; and therefore, upon the subject of bargain, which is the case of negociation, there is no room for any observations upon the sincerity of the parties — the nature of the subject excludes the idea. Observations on the sincerity of parties in a bargain, are incongruous in their nature, and devoid of sense; as if you were to talk of a square colour, or a green figure. This is a way of talking which is absolute nonsense, because the ideas for which the words stand do not mix. But, that we may have done with this topic entirely, I wish the house to consider, whether ministers really did not do every thing that was in their power to facilitate the negociation, and whether they did any thing to retard it; I say it was broken off by the enemy; and this appears to be so plain, that I will take no further notice of it, because I consider it as a waste of time. Another part of the observations of the Honourable Gentleman has no bearing whatever on the subject of the sincerity of the ministers of this country in the negociation at Lisle, although he connected them together in his speech: — but that is his affair, and not mine: he seemed to insinuate as if the manner in which the negociation was conducted was

inconsistent with the attention which was due to M. Otto. I do not know why the intervention of Captain George upon that negociation was made a matter of objection by the Honourable Gentleman: he was familiar with M. Otto; he was the best channel that could be chosen to conduct the business; and by the means which were taken, the purpose for which they were taken was completely answered.

With respect to Mr. Hammond, you should consider how he stands: he is a confidential under-secretary of state; and no person could be employed in that business who was fitter for it than he was: nor is it the first time that this course has been taken; it has been a common practice; it was so on the part of the French government. What that Gentleman was to the French government, Mr. Hammond is to this: indeed it was the case of the celebrated Matthew Prior; and why not, I should be glad to know? But this is only an additional instance of that sort of jealousy which our enemy knows how to express; when they want an excuse for perverseness, they can, on any occasion, shew a great attention to forms and ceremonies if it suits their purpose; and none can at other times affect to despise them more: but, it seems, they are to be allowed whatever versatility they please upon subjects, while they are to hold us to the most scrupulous forms.

'There was another part of the Honourable Gentleman's speech, to which I must again recur, and it escaped me while I was considering the subject of

distrust with which he would impress this house on the papers relative to the negociation — that while the Emperor was supposed to be waiting for us, the negociation was actually carried on by his plenipotentiary. — Now, Sir, I have heard it said, that a pun will not bear translation; but here you are told that an argument will not bear translation. I do not presume to be expert in the translation, nor very acute in the comprehension of phrases in the French language; but it does seem to me, that although the observation of the Honourable Gentleman may do in English, it will not do in French. In English, it is said, in the *Indicative* mood, that the plenipotentiaries *are* occupied, whereas in the French it is in the *Subjunctive* mood, and implies that they *should be* occupied in the negotiation.

And now, Sir, I am come back again to the head of argument used by the Honourable Gentleman, on the general distrust which this house and the public ought to have of His Majesty's ministers. Upon this occasion the Honourable Gentleman, by way of episode, took notice of the state of affairs in Egypt. — Why he did so is not clear, at least to me; for it seemed to have no bearing whatever upon the other parts of his address to the house. How far want of foresight is to be imputed to the Government of this country, or how far rashness may be attributable to us, I will not say; but that there was any breach of faith in the case, I deny; and indeed that is a charge which the Honourable Gentleman has not attempted to prove. That there was a breach of faith on the part of the

French, the Honourable Gentleman, whatever he intended, has proved. He talks of the postscript of Baudot, and treats it as a thing not to be regarded; whereas it is most important in the consideration of this subject; for he says most expressly, speaking in the name of General Kleber, "that, from the real wish he has to give the most positive proofs of his good faith, whatever may be the fortune of war, the French army shall evacuate Egypt immediately after the arrival of the necessary passports from the English government, and of the number of vessels stipulated for the transport of the troops." — Upon this statement it is evident that they did not make good their own engagement.

As to the argument of the Honourable Gentleman, upon the supposition of an army of the enemy being in Ireland, and of its departure thence being opposed by an ally of ours, after it had been agreed between the enemy and us that it should depart, it is to be observed, that the proposition which the Honourable Gentleman builds upon it arises out of that which is subject to much qualification; because a nation may be so situated as to have good faith to observe to more allies than one at one time, and it may so happen that the one shall be against the other: it may also turn out that its own interest may be equal to both; in that case a nation, like an individual, has only a choice of difficulties; and upon this principle we were perfectly justified in what was done on our behalf in Egypt.

As to what has been said upon the engagement of Sir Sidney Smith, he was only constructively con-

cerned in the treaty which has been so frequently alluded to. Another part of the Honourable Gentleman's speech referred to a topic, in the discussion of which he borrowed a good deal of what was said the other night — I mean the conduct of the war. I do not mean to go at large into it; for, after all, discussion will do less than we might wish; for the question depends greatly on the value which may be set on certain things, upon which I must take the liberty of saying, that neither now, nor on a former occasion, did the Honourable Gentleman lay out the fair grounds of the question, or define correctly the object on which it does or ought to turn. He states as one thing, what in point of fact must be true. It is one thing to say whether a war is successful, and another whether those who conduct it are to blame: these two points do not depend upon one another; so far from it, that a war may be unsuccessful, and those who conduct it are not to blame; and a war may be very successful, and yet those who conduct it are very much to blame. And when you come to judge of the war itself, it is not to be calculated drily by what is won or lost; it is not a comparison of what you have had, and what you have now in your possession. This is indeed, at first view, plausible enough; but it is not the real way of judging of the effect of a war. Some would judge of the success of a war by comparing the state of the country at the commencement of the war, and at the conclusion of it. I say that is a defective, and sometimes a fallacious way of judging. I say the true comparison is, "what would have been the state of the

country if no such war had been entered into." I take this mode of stating the point, under a supposed admission that this war could have been avoided on our part. In that conceded condition of the subject, I contend that there is no man in this country can say what would at this hour have been its condition if this war had never been entered into. We are all, I believe, ready to admit that our condition is now, upon the whole, infinitely better than it would have been if the war had not been entered into. Not that you are now better off than you were at the beginning; that was not undertaken; that would be an absurdity on the face of things. What would you say, for instance, of the glorious defence of Acre? Is that fortress better now than it was before that brilliant conduct of Sir Sidney Smith? Certainly not, Sir! and yet I should be content with half the glory of that action as the reward of my military life, were I in that branch of the public service. I mention this to shew that we are not to compare what our situation was before a war, with the situation in which we stand, at the conclusion of a war; the true comparison is, between our situation at the end of a war, and that which would have been our situation if no such war had been entered into.

All this I have hitherto gratuitously taken, under a supposition that the war, on our part, might have been avoided — a concession which I only made for the sake of the argument, for a moment, and which I must now recall, as the argument is disposed of — because most unquestionably the war was compulsory on our

part, by the direct and immediate obligation of good faith pressing upon us, leaving no choice on our part, without a surrender of our honour. Far be it from me to say, that I think administration wants any thing to be said in its justification upon the commencement of this war; if there be any justification wanting, I think it ought to be applied for on the other side. We are by this war still kept, in the estimation of some at least, an independent country. Here we are, I say, whether merry or not, I do not know — but here we are, supposed by some to be a nation blessed with happiness, with commercial prosperity, an abundance of wealth until the present hour unknown to any part of this world, with a free constitution, entire, untainted with Republican law or Jacobinical morality. Here we are, and this is our condition; and this I say we owe to the present war: but if the counsel of the Honourable Gentleman, and those with whom he has uniformly acted, had been followed by this house, this country would now be in the same situation, or some such situation, as that of Tuscany, or Switzerland, or Spain or Holland. America has indeed, by its happy distance from the scene of action, kept out of the sphere of the degrading modern politics of a great part of the old continent. That which comes last, though not least, and upon which the whole of this motion is founded, and which is its avowed object to attain, is, peace — peace, such as the Honourable Gentleman describes. Now, when a Gentleman tells me, that I consider peace made with a Jacobinical republic, as no-

thing better than a thing to be made choice of as the lesser of two evils, I did not expect that I should be told, we can, upon my principles, never have a peace, because this is equivalent to saying, I shall make choice of the greater evil of the two. To correct that mistake, I will say, that when I see the continuance of the war a greater evil than making a peace with a Jacobin republic, I will vote for such a peace, however depressed my spirits may be, or however melancholy it should appear; I would make use of it as the lesser evil of the two. That things will always continue as they are now, I do not pretend to say; for they vary according to circumstances: but I tell the Honourable Gentleman freely, I think that the danger of a Jacobin peace may have some abatement; for, the contradiction, the explosion, and execration of the modern doctrine of the rights of man, in my opinion, has abated the danger which would attend the making of peace with a Jacobin republic; not that it is free from danger, for danger there always will be in such a peace; but the danger would now be less than it would have been at one time. But because the danger of war may possibly be greater than the danger of such a peace, therefore would I embrace peace as the lesser evil of the two; though, considering that sort of peace of which the Honourable Gentleman is the advocate, I must confess that I can hardly foresee the extremity of danger into which this country can be brought by war, which would make one consider a greater evil than such a peace. Gentlemen talk of the spirit of peace, by which they explain themselves to mean that we are to lay aside all jealousy

of the principles of a Jacobin republic, and that we are to cherish such principles, and with pure love take the fraternal embrace and kiss. I say, God avert such a peace from this country! — We have for centuries been in the habit of making peace with the ancient monarchy of France, without entering into the spirit of its monarchy. Do they mean to say, that I can enter into the spirit of perfidy of Buonaparté, or of his plunder or rapacity? Or am I to suppose that, after a peace is made with him, a miracle will be wrought in his favour, and that the whole of his character will change — so that he may be considered the friend, who has hitherto been the implacable foe, of this country, and who has given up other points of great importance, in his opinion, in order that he might the better carry into effect his hatred against England? — The Honourable Gentleman talks of one particular person (Mr. Fox), on whose principles alone peace can be obtained: I have great respect for the talents of that person; but his opinions and sentiments upon this war I neither can admire, nor even think on them without repugnance — they are indeed adapted to the peace of which the Honourable Gentleman has spoken to-night. Let the house consider how they listen to propositions for peace, do away alliances on the continent, and put an end to means for carrying on the war, for the sake of making way for the counsels of those who want to make a peace of pure love with a Jacobin republic, instead of preserving the spirit which this country ought to cherish of jealousy against such pernicious principles.

Mr. Grey having spoken in favour of the motion, and Mr. Dundas in opposition to it, the house divided, and the numbers were,

For the motion	35
Against it	156
Majority	121

LIST OF ADMINISTRATION

As it stood in 1801, after the resignation of Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, and other members of the preceding Administration.

Cabinet Ministers:

Right Honourable Henry Addington	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Pelham	Secretary of State, Home Department (succeeded by Mr. Yorke).
Lord Hawkesbury	Ditto, Foreign Department.
Lord Hobart	Ditto, War and Colonial Department.
Earl St. Vincent	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Portland	Lord President of the Council.
Earl of Westmorland	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Eldon	Lord Chancellor.
Earl of Chatham	Master General of the Ordnance.

Not of the Cabinet:

Right Hon. Charles Yorke	Secretary at War (succeeded by Mr. Bragge).
Right Hon. Charles Bragge	Treasurer of the Navy (succeeded by Mr. Tierney).
Right Hon. Thomas Steele, Lord Glenbervie	Joint-Paymasters of the Forces.
Lord Auckland, Lord Charles Spencer	Joint-Postmasters-General.
Mr. Hiley Addington and Mr. Vansittart	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Edward Law	Attorney-General (succeeded by Mr. Perceval).
Hon. Spencer Perceval	Solicitor-General (succeeded by Sir T. Sutton).

Ireland:

Earl of Hardwicke	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Redesdale	Lord Chancellor.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT.

June 2, 1801.

MR. T. JONES *moved*, "That an humble Address be pre-
" sented to His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to
" communicate to his faithful Commons, by whose advice "In-
" structions dated 13th December 1799, were given to the Com-
" mander in Chief of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean,
" enjoining him not to consent, on any account, to the return of
" the French army to France, or to their capitulation in any other
" manner than jointly to the Allied Powers, whose forces were
" employed against them; or upon any other terms than that of
" giving up their arms, and surrendering as prisoners of war
" to the Allied Powers so employed; and on no account to consent
" to the return of the French army in Egypt to France, or to their
" capitulations, excepting on conditions above specified;" whereby
" his faithful Commons humbly conceive that the grand object of
" peace has been postponed, and the seat of this calamitous, un-
" fortunate, and expensive war, has been transferred to the very
" distant coasts of Egypt, where there has already been a pro-
" digious expenditure of English treasure and of English blood;
" and this at a time when the hostile preparations in the ports of
" France threatened an invasion of these realms, and when our
" good and old ally Portugal is about to sink under the dominion
" of the French Republic, in consequence of that army, which

"might have defended Portugal, being detached to Egypt; and "moreover, when the dangerous question of the searching neutral "ships has raised up a new Baltic war, when Prussia has "seized on the Electorate of Hanover and its treasures; and all "these unfortunate and alarming circumstances, his faithful "Commons humbly conceive, grown out of the breach of the Con-"vention of El-Arisch: and furthermore, with the most loyal "attachment, and affectionate consideration, his faithful Commons "humbly conceive, that by the issuing these said instructions, a "dreadful consequence might arise to the Indian Empire, and "that it may fall into irretrievable ruin; and in its fall may "crush the credit and destroy the revenue of this Country, "whereby, at this alarming crisis with the destinies of the "world, the Laws of Humanity and the Laws of Nations have "been grossly violated, His Majesty's Government degraded, and "the policy, character, and faith of this renowned Empire ren-"dered contemptible in the eyes of all Europe." Mr. Robson seconded the motion, and Lord Hawkesbury opposed it.

MR. WINDHAM said, he rose to make a few observations upon what had fallen from the Honourable Gentleman; not that he did not concur with the Noble Lord in thinking the answers which had been before given perfectly decisive upon the subject. Before the Honourable Gentleman could succeed in his motion, there were two points which it would be necessary for him to maintain. In the first place, it would be necessary for the Honourable Gentleman to shew that the decision of ministers was, at the time it was made, unwise and improper; and, supposing the decision to have been wrong, then that the consequences were such as had been stated. If the Honourable Gentleman failed in establishing the first point,

then there was an end of the question; because, if it appeared that the decision was proper under all the circumstances at the time when it was made, ministers could, upon no fair reasoning, be considered censurable for the consequences, however unfortunate they might be.

With regard to the first point then, viz. whether the decision which His Majesty's ministers came to upon that point was right or wrong, he should only say a very few words. At the time that decision was made, he thought it was right; and he now, after maturely considering all the circumstances, was fully of the same opinion. Even now he could not, with a view of all the events which have happened since, or considering the events which might ensue, bring himself to regret the determination which ministers came to upon that subject. He did not state this because he wished at all events to defend the late ministers, for he had much rather they had been wrong in their judgment, provided the consequences had been fortunate for the country, than that they should have been right in their opinion, and the consequences unfavourable. In defending the conduct of the late ministers upon that occasion, he meant to have contended, that, among other advantages derived from it, it had added much to the character of the country; and therefore he was not a little surprised to hear the Honourable Gentleman state, as one of his objections to the measure, that it had injured our national reputation. The Honourable Gentleman and he must surely see the subject in a very different view,

since the very point which the Honourable Gentleman considered as a matter of charge, he meant to have urged in order to shew that ministers were entitled to praise. In order to prove that our national character had been injured, the Honourable Gentleman had contended that we had broken our faith with our allies — he supposed by allies he meant the Turks; but the Honourable Gentleman should recollect that we had other allies, viz. the Austrians; and what would they have said, if, at a moment when they were contending in Italy against the French with forces so equally balanced, that the contest was at last decided by a battle, or rather by a fraction of a battle (for three-fourths of the battle was in favour of the Austrians), what would they have said, if, when matters were so nearly balanced, we had suffered 15,000 or more of the best troops of France to have been thrown into the scale against them? It had been stated, that the French would have been landed in France, not in Italy; but that would only make a difference of about three weeks; for they certainly would have been marched into Italy. It would be impossible to persuade the Austrians, under these circumstances, that we had not sacrificed the general cause for our own private interest. As to the argument, that they would not have arrived in Italy time enough to have given any effectual assistance to the French, it was certainly a little difficult to tell whether they would or not, before-hand, unless it had been previously known on what day the battle of Marengo would be fought, and what would be the issue of it. But by acting in the

manner in which the Government of this country acted upon that occasion, our national character was maintained; and we had shewn the world, that we preferred a strict adherence to our public faith, to any advantages, however great, which we might gain by a violation of it.

This then was one of the advantages which we had gained by our decision upon that occasion. This alone was most material; but it was not all — we had since obtained other compensations. No man certainly could enter into a comparison of the value of the lives of men, and the glory and advantages which we might obtain at such an expence; but, the loss having been incurred, it certainly was proper to consider the advantages that we had obtained. It would not, he supposed, be contended, that the reputation of a country did not constitute part of its strength, particularly in the present times. It did so happen, that since the commencement of that system which was to make all men brethren, and consequently to introduce universal peace among mankind, war seemed to have become the whole business of life; since the time that arms and warfare were to be laid aside for ever, the whole of Europe had become as it were one camp. It did so happen, that the very people who first introduced this system of universal peace, immediately formed themselves into a nation of armed robbers, and made war upon all their neighbours solely for the purposes of plunder; and no nation was safe that did not immediately convert itself into a nation of soldiers. This being the case, he could not but think that the

military reputation of a country was now more important than it ever was in former times; because France, which was always one of the most warlike States in Europe, had now become more so than ever. He therefore never liked those who, while they put no bounds to their eulogiums on the military merit of France, at the same time held a very different language to this country. We were advised not to hope to form an army, and almost to renounce the use of arms. It always appeared to him, that thus to exalt the merit of the enemy, and to depress the spirit of the people of this country, was (to use no harsher expression) very unseasonable. If every country would do the same, and renounce arms for ever, it would certainly be fortunate for mankind; but while we had an armed nation at our door, such as France was, those who advised us to diminish our means of defence, must be either so stupid or so depraved that all attempts to convince them must be hopeless. When we considered the effect which the recent events in Egypt must have upon our military, it could not but be observed, that it was perhaps more necessary now than at any former period. We could not dissemble from ourselves, that while our naval glory had been great beyond all former example, it became, somehow or other, a fashion to depress the military character of the country. Every traitor in this country willingly took up the notion, and propagated it with activity and pleasure; it even gained ground among foreign nations, who were either actuated by a love of wonder, or perhaps they could not look upon our un-

exampled naval successes without feeling something like envy; and therefore it was said, that though we had by some means or other got a knack of conquering by sea, yet that at land we were inferior to the French. There certainly were some causes that led people in this country to entertain that opinion; and one was, the state and condition of the army. He did not mean to say, that our army, in its worst state, was superior to any other army in Europe; but he would contend, that, for a certain species of service, they certainly were inferior to no troops in the world. One reason why our army was not in every respect so good as some of the troops upon the Continent, was that our establishment before the war was so low, that we had, as it were, to make up an army on a sudden. Then the great mortality which was occasioned by unwholesome climates was to be taken into consideration; so that, in point of fact, our army had always been composed, if he might use the expression, of raw materials. If we looked to the expedition which was sent to Holland, every Gentleman must know the manner in which that army was formed; but he believed that those who would be inclined to speak the most in its praise, were those who had to contend against it; and though that expedition failed in some of its objects, yet upon every occasion in which our troops were engaged in that country, whether in offensive or defensive operations, they were always successful. Notwithstanding this, the circumstances of the war did certainly throw a kind of shade over our army. The glory of our navy was so great, that

every other service was overlooked; all our attention was engaged on one side; and we were, as it were, lame of one leg.

It was under these circumstances that the events in Egypt occurred. Whole wars might pass over without affording an opportunity of fairly measuring our strength with the enemy. But in Egypt the very scene seemed to be chosen for a fair trial of strength —the two armies seemed as it were to be withdrawn from the world. They were both left without any other resource than that which they could draw from their own courage and discipline; they had no allies to share the merit of victory, or bear the disgrace of defeat. Their motto seemed to be "*Væ Victi!*" and all they asked was a clear stage, and no favour. Who were those that we conquered? not Greeks or Copts, Batavians or Cisalpines, who have been found to recruit these armies by which they had been conquered; but the tried, the chosen, the best troops of France: we were contending with the pride and glory of the Republic, with troops whom the French themselves would have chosen as the depositaries of their military character. He would not say that those we had beaten were the best of those troops who had been sent to Egypt; but undoubtedly, having remained the longest, they had more of that character which is supposed to belong to veterans. We knew what they thought of themselves — we knew that they boasted that they would destroy us if they once caught us out of our ships; but, like the young and untried Orlando, we overthrew the experienced wrestler; and he might

say, that upon this occasion we had given them a Rowland for their Oliver. He would not say, in the language of the same piece, that "no one would entreat them to another encounter." He would not do the French army in Egypt injustice: he did not doubt but that they would venture another encounter; he would not say that fortune might not be favourable to them in it: but this he would say, that from this time forth no French army would ever meet an English army with any thing like feelings of contempt; they would know that they could not rely upon any superiority of courage or discipline. He thought he had a right to urge all these to the house as compensations for our losses. We might sustain still greater ones, the expedition might (which God forbid,) ultimately fail! for no man could say that we were out of fortune's reach; but whatever the event might be, it could not take from us our glory; in that respect we were out of the reach of chance. He did not urge these considerations as a justification of the conduct of ministers, but as compensations for the losses we had sustained.

He really did not think it necessary for him to occupy more of the time of the house, and to prevent it from proceeding to other business, as the Honourable Gentleman had not advanced one argument upon the subject, that had not been before completely answered. He was, however, glad the subject had been introduced, because it gave him an opportunity of making these few observations, and of doing justice to the

military character of the country. This was a subject upon which our children and grand-children would dwell with pride — they would talk of Egypt and of Abercrombie with as much exultation as we had been accustomed, till these degenerate days, to speak of Cressy and of Agincourt: but this was not all, the enemy might attempt to invade us, to endeavour to do that which he believed was their object from the commencement of the war, viz. to effect our ruin; in such a case, would our achievements in Egypt have no effect in inspiring the people of England with confidence, and throwing a damp upon the enemy? The French were confident, because they had been generally successful;

Possunt quia posse videntur.

He was sorry to say, that among many people in this country, the common language was, "The French are invincible, no troops can meet them in the field, our army cannot stand before them, we must lay down our arms, and throw ourselves upon the tender mercies of our enemy:" such language had been used, and would be used by those who considered the cause of France as their own. But those who had been led to despond by weakly over-rating the power of the enemy, and under-valuing our own, would henceforth entertain no doubt about the valour and discipline of the British troops. With respect to the subject now before the house, he felt no anxiety; every argument that had been advanced had been repeatedly answered,

and therefore he should not trespass any longer upon the attention of the house.

Mr. Grey spoke in favour of the motion; —*Mr. Pitt against it. On a division, the numbers were,*

For the motion - - -	22
Against it - - - -	138
Majority -	116

INDEMNITY BILL.

June 5, 1801.

THE order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole house, upon the Bill for indemnifying such persons as, since the first day of February 1793, *have acted in the apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, in Great Britain, of persons suspected of High Treason, or Treasonable Practices; and several Petitions against the said Bill having been presented and ordered to lie on the table, the Attorney-General moved, that the Speaker should leave the Chair. The motion having been opposed by Mr. Jekyll, Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Grey,*

MR. WINDHAM said that he was desirous of taking immediate notice of some of the observations of the Honourable Gentleman who had just sat down, most of which, although in themselves good, were answered without much difficulty, because they were of a general nature. The Honourable Gentleman who had just sat down had arranged his subject under three heads: — the manner in which this subject was brought forward — the principle of the measure — and the arguments by which it was supported. The silence of his Honour-

able Friends below him, the late ministers, the Honourable Gentleman had treated as an argument, on which he had spoke with a considerable degree of solemnity, as if he, who was certainly master of his own force, had considered it as most material in the distribution. Now, with respect to the manner of conducting this matter, he must observe upon the silence of his Honourable Friends below him, which the Honourable Gentleman seemed to consider as the characteristic of misconduct, that he could not agree in that conclusion; nor did he see the impropriety of his Friends waiting for objections to be urged against them before they offered themselves to the notice of the house; and that perhaps answers, if any were necessary, should come from those who stood more independently than they did, or were alledged to stand, leaving it to such persons to deliver their sentiments rather than come forward themselves. Upon that subject he must observe, that, in general, if ministers were called upon to answer two points, the information upon which was solely in their own possession, or if not solely, they possessed more of it than others, the grounds of argument of the side by which they were to be supported, should be stated by them, to put others in a situation to argue upon them; but the principle on which this measure was founded, seemed to him to be equally open to all the house to discuss. Nor were ministers particularly called upon to oblige the Honourable Gentleman with any observations: they were not in a state in which it was necessary to make any attempt at *felo de se*; they were wise in waiting for others: what in-

ference, therefore, the Honourable Gentleman would draw from the silence of these Gentlemen, he confessed he could not see. But before he adverted to other arguments which the Honourable Gentleman had brought forward, he should take a view of the general principles and reasons that applied to the present measure.

It was stated, that this was not to protect any persons who had done any thing which was wrong, but to prevent them from being subject to vexation upon cases in which they had done that which was right; and that was rightly stated. — The necessity of a measure of this sort seemed to be founded on the peculiar nature of the present proceeding, namely, "That those who have acted under the law, and who must depend on the information of others — (information which it is not to the advantage of the public to be made known,) have acted only in the execution of their duty, and therefore ought to be protected."—This measure, therefore, in one view of it, was to be considered, properly speaking, as a measure for the protection of the public against an injury which they might sustain by an individual being called upon to produce the justification under which he acted. Now he was ready to contend, that it was not to the interest of the public, that a person who had acted in the service of the public should be so placed; and as to the inconveniences which were supposed to be introduced by this practice of taking secret information for the safety of the public, he should be disposed to close with the Honourable Gentleman, and say, that the

inconvenience of putting an end to the practice would be greater than the inconvenience of continuing it; for he allowed the inconvenience was considerable on both sides. He would say, therefore, that an individual who had acted for the benefit of the public ought never to be put in the situation, such as many persons would be in if the bill now before the house should not pass into a law. The Honourable Gentleman's argument upon this occasion was not only calculated to shew that the imprisonment of persons under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was oppressive, but it went the length of shewing, that all proceeding whatever, upon such authority, was improper. It went the length of saying, that no proceeding whatever should have taken place upon any secret information; although the house had always intended, and had frequently expressed that intention, that such proceedings should take place. It being so in the view of the house, it would not be inconsistent with its duty to act upon that impression. That being the state of the case, these persons must, or they were at least likely to be in a situation in which they had done right, and what the house intended; and yet, if they were not protected by a bill of this sort, they would be open to vexation, accusation, and probably to punishment, unless they produced that which it was inconvenient to the public to have produced. This, he apprehended, was something of an evil. But the Honourable Gentleman said, we must consider, upon this occasion, the precedents which appeared in our parliamentary history; and he urged a very hu-

mane maxim, to which, under certain qualifications, there could be no objection, viz. That it was better that many guilty persons should escape, than that one innocent person should be condemned. In this humane maxim he agreed with the Honourable Gentleman; but not in the application of it, because the case here was not whether any innocent person should be sacrificed; that was impossible, since the utmost an innocent person could endure was imprisonment; convicted he never could be, without clear and satisfactory proof of guilt; and here he felt himself disposed to close with the Honourable Gentleman, that the inconvenience to the public would be greater on the other side, for under the apprehension (because the thing was possible) that somebody would misuse his power in some individual case, no power should be given at all to any body; that is to say, if power be given, the person exercising it shall, at all risks to the public safety, either give up the information on which he acted, a thing most mischievous in many cases, or the party using it shall be liable to punishment, a thing most to be avoided, on account of the discouragement it would throw in the way of men who have arduous public duties to perform. He would not endeavour to shew, what indeed it was hardly possible to shew, the exact proportion there was between the inconvenience in the one and the other of these cases; but he was deceived if there was any difficulty in deciding the matter. However, that must rest with the judgment of the house. The question to be asked of the house was this; "Do you, upon the whole, think that the

evils which have resulted from the power that has been given to those who have acted under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act have been such as that it will be better to expose to prosecution, and perhaps to persecution, those who have not only acted conscientiously, but under your own authority? And will you place them in a situation in which they may be punished for their virtue, (for if they are sued in a court of law for acting as some have done, they will be punished if they refuse to deliver up the evidence on which they acted, the disclosure of which may be highly injurious to the public, and therefore to punish men for such refusal is to punish them for their virtue,) or will you protect them for it?" This, it must be remembered farther, was not the whimsical or capricious conduct of individuals, but the conduct of persons who had acted under the authority of the house. This, he said, however, he offered to the house, and not to the Honourable Gentleman, for he had said that he would not proceed at all on information of a secret kind; for he was against the whole practice of taking information from spies and informers. This mode of rejecting all information from informers, was a sort of specific adopted of late for certain purposes, and to answer certain complaints, which Gentlemen on the opposite side of the house had taken under their protection. We know that these secret combinations are fortified and concealed by the obligation of the most wicked oaths, but, on those who took them, most binding: he would ask, therefore, what means were we to have of proceeding to protect

ourselves against such evil spirits, if we had not secret information? He vowed he knew of none:—he was ready to pay deference to political maxims when they were applicable to the subject in discussion; but here these quoted by the Honourable Gentleman did not apply. The remedy now to be adopted must be different from any that had been formerly tried in the affairs of state, because the complaint to which it was applied was different; and we were now in such a state, that if any man was bent on the total destruction of this country, he could not do better for his purpose than to counsel us to follow nothing but what has been the practice of former times: by so doing, under the cloak of attachment to precedent, and reverence for antiquity, he might soon work the ruin of this country; for, in that course, nothing could be found that was applicable to the present political condition of things. But it was not an unusual thing, this mode of proceeding on the part of some Gentlemen on the other side of the house. The vogue at present was to say,—"We ought to be tied to antient precedent,—We are to do nothing that we cannot sanction by the authority of former proceedings." The short answer to that was, that there was in fact no precedent for the present condition of things. We might ask, what precedent there was for rebellion of the sort which we had before us?—We had indeed a rebellion in the year 1715, and another in 1745, and they had some resemblance to one another; but he apprehended that the first elementary book which led us to comprehend subjects in the way of reason, would teach us that it was not an inevitable conse-

quence, that two things must be of the same nature if they happen to be of the same name. He therefore apprehended that the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, were not the same as the present state of things, merely because they might be both called rebellion.

He maintained, that the reasoning which should be made use of was not to depend on maxims alone, but was to be considered with reference to the case before us and all its peculiarities. In the first place, it was a little odd to say, that since the French Revolution had taken effect, we were to be guided by old maxims: that is to say, we were to be guided by old maxims, when all moral principles were changed, and we were in a state of things, in which the authors of the new order boast that they wipe off with a sponge every thing that was old. It was a little hard that, while there was so much invasion of right, so much overthrow of custom in the practice of the present day, there should be nothing new in the remedy that was to be applied to the evil, and that we should all at once become so much attached to old maxims of government. Besides, the thing became a little more extraordinary, when we compared this fondness for precedent with the opinions which had been expressed by some of our reformers. We had some principles which he hoped would be permanent, notwithstanding any attempts that might be made to alter them; but others were changing in the variety of human affairs. The earliest usages of the constitution of our country, the purity of which was formerly proverbial, the Honourable Gentleman would have us change with as much facility as one could one's

garment; but he would have no law altered. No alteration whatever was to take place in any part of the law; but the constitution itself, as was proposed by some Gentlemen, might be altered most readily. He knew not whether it was a toast at the Whig Club or not, but he thought it would do well enough to illustrate the doctrine contended for to night—"Fixt Laws and a Moveable Constitution." But our laws were not to be changed; there was nothing that should make such change: now upon that subject he could only say, that if the French Revolution had not introduced a change in human affairs, he knew of nothing that had done so since the General Deluge. Notwithstanding all this change, the laws were not to be immoveable; the Gentlemen were become at once mysteriously fond of old maxims, and of none more than *Stare super vias antiquas*. Our laws were become fixt and unalterable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians; he really thought that laws should be made to suit the affairs of mankind as they arose, and that which was now before the house was of that character; he conceived that to be an answer to most of the observations of the Honourable Gentleman on the other side, as well as to his quotations from Tacitus, and from Montesquieu.—Tacitus was a luminous historian; he wrote well from what he knew: but nothing that was to be found in his work had any resemblance to the present condition of political affairs; and as to Montesquieu, he was a man of great learning certainly, but he was entirely a theoretical writer, and therefore his labours should be perused with all the allowances which belong to labours

of that kind, let the author have whatever skill he may. If, however, that author were now living, he was persuaded that he would be one of the first to admit that, although he thought his observations generally true, yet they were not all applicable to the present condition of the politics of Europe.

The Honourable Gentleman had formerly dwelt on a topic which had no great influence, perhaps, on his own opinion; he meant the mode of appointing the Secret Committee. It was true, that it was a thing to be desired that the Committee should be composed of those who were impartial, but it was desirable also that they should be enlightened. Upon that part of the subject, the very Gentlemen who had been objected to on the principle of partiality, were the fittest on the score of information. They had long been in the pursuit of information on this subject; and therefore, if they could be supposed to have a partiality which it was desirable to remove, so, on the other hand, they possessed advantages which made them superior to other Gentlemen; so that, taking the thing altogether, the Report of the Committee had all the weight which the Report of a respectable Committee ought to have. But there was a point on which he had for some time wished for an opportunity of saying a word or two, and that was not so much to the credit of the Committee as for the credit of the House itself — he meant the mode of forming a Committee by ballot. That had been made a ground of charge, as if that mode of choosing a Committee did in itself lay a presumption of something done unduly, or with a sinister

design. A tolerable answer to the objection would be found in saying that such was the usual mode; but he wished to give the objection a further answer, and that for the character of the judgment of the House. In truth there was no other way. There was, he thought, in the reign of Henry IV., a Parliament which, for want of information, was called *Parliamentum Indoctum;* and the present House would be subject to a similar denomination if it followed the doctrine of the Honourable Gentleman. Questions were usually answered by yes or no; but it might possibly happen that a question might be so put as that neither of these answers could be strictly applicable to the question. Suppose a road diverged at a certain place, and branched out into several roads; if the question were to be answered by yes or no, we should be obliged to put the question upon every one until we came to the last; and when that came to be so, the logic of inferior animals was supposed to be equal to the task of deciding the point.—Now, supposing the course to be taken here to put the question upon each individual, taking twenty-one out of six hundred and fifty-eight, with all the possible changes that such a mode of proceeding would lead to, it would appear by a mode of calculation, which those who were disposed to it might find in a book of no great profundity, that, allowing for the interruption of a number of dissolutions of Parliament, and allowing that this world were to last a great many hundred years more than it hitherto had, there would not be sufficient time to come to a conclusion upon the choice of a

Committee of twenty-one out of six hundred and fifty-eight Members of that House; that is, supposing all changeable modes were to be put, and which each individual would have a right to insist upon; besides, there was another idea to be attended to, if a Committee were to be thus nominated; for a question might arise upon the relative fitness of a Member, in the opinion of others, as he was nominated; — for instance, when a Member was nominated, another might say, "I cannot agree to his name, unless I know who is to be joined to him, for Mr. Such-a-one will do very well if Mr. Such-a-one is coupled with him: but Mr. Such-a-one joined to another Mr. Such-a-one will never do, they differ so much in their way of thinking, &c." So that, upon a moderate computation, allowing each individual in the house to give his opinion, and the ballot to be thus formed, several centuries would elapse before one Member could be chosen. Having treated this subject with some ridicule, Mr. Windham ended with an allegation, that, therefore, a ballot was the only mode of choosing a Committee.

He proceeded to observe, that most unquestionably those persons who had been confined, or who might hereafter be confined, were objects of attention; but the question was, whether, if this measure was not to be adopted, we should not lose to the public more than would be gained to individuals by abstaining from it; for it was, after all, a matter of balance of advantages and disadvantages. — It was, however, not a bill for the establishment of any system; it was to be

made applicable to facts as they should appear to arise; nor was there any thing now to be done but what should be subject to the controul of future Parliaments; and as to his Right Honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer having said on a former day, that, if necessary, he should claim to be indemnified in like manner as this bill is intended to indemnify others, he meant by it only if he had laid the same grounds for that indemnity as are laid now. As to the complaint of Gentlemen, that there was not a greater number of *them* in Committees that were balloted for, the thing was perfectly natural; for the majority of the house would choose those whose politics they liked, and that would continue to be the case, notwithstanding all that had been said of impartiality, unless it could be proved that the house, in order to show its impartiality, were to choose those whose politics they disliked. In a word, the choice was the judgment of the house, and the judgment of the house was in that respect the representation of the country; and the minority stood in the opinion of the country in the same situation as they did in that house, as they must feel whenever they reflected upon the subject. He concluded with observing, that it did not become him to say how the power which this bill recognized was used; it was for the house and the country to judge; but he was convinced, that without this bill the sources of information would be cut up, and without applying opprobrious terms to informers, he would say, that, in the present state of things, they were necessary to correct the mischief of those

criminals who wished to bring the state to ruin, but who must be counteracted by means as active and powerful as themselves. Upon these grounds, and independent of any self-interest, he gave his support to the motion now before the house.

Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. W. Smith spoke against the motion; the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General in favour of it. On a division, the numbers were,

For the motion - - -	172
Against it - - -	38
Majority -	134

NOTICE OF PEACE.

October 29, 1801.

HIS MAJESTY'S Speech, announcing that the differences with the Northern Powers had been adjusted, and that Preliminaries of Peace had also been ratified with the French Republic, having been read by the Speaker, Lord Louvaine moved an Address of Thanks and Congratulation, which was seconded by the Honourable Colonel Wodehouse.

Mr. Fox expressed his concurrence in the Address, and his joy on the attainment of Peace. Mr. Pitt considered the event to be matter of joy to the country, and cheerfully gave his tribute of praise to the ministers who had accomplished it.

MR. WINDHAM spoke to the following effect:

SIR,

HAVING the misfortune to differ from my Right Honourable Friend who has just spoken, as well as from the Right Honourable Gentleman who has preceded him, touching the cause of joy and exultation which both have expressed for the Preliminaries of Peace which have been recently signed with France, I should not approve this address, if it went so far as to pledge this house to an approbation of

those Preliminaries specifically. But, Sir, as it does not so pledge this house, I shall not withhold from it my support; nor should I have risen, Sir, to have troubled this house to-night, but that differing as I do most materially from those who approve this Peace, concluded under the present circumstances of Europe, it behoves me to vindicate my opinion, by explaining at least in outline the reasons why I so differ. I am fully prepared to go at length into the discussion of those opinions; but as it seems rather the sense of the house to postpone that discussion to another occasion, I shall not push it forward now — seeing that I shall have another, and an early opportunity; but as my Honourable Friend, from whom to differ I shall always consider as a misfortune, avows an opinion in approbation to the measure, I feel it necessary to declare, as shortly as possible, my reason for a contrary sentiment.

I must own, Sir, to stand as a solitary mourner in the midst of general exultation, to wear a countenance clouded with sadness, while all others are lighted up with joy, is at once rather unfortunate and ungracious. But if I differ from those Gentlemen, who have so often differed from each other heretofore upon the whole of the subject of this war, though they now coincide in approbation of this peace, it is because the event strikes me in a different point of view from that in which they see it, and because that which they consider a cause for general joy, I fear may be turned into a cause of general mourning. I would ask — Are the circumstances of this Peace the natural signs for

rejoicing that have been wont to justify our exultations upon former occasions? I own, Sir, they strike me in a direct contrary point of view, and when I am called on to rejoice, before I put on my wedding suit, I shall first enquire, whether I am called to celebrate a marriage or a funeral. When I am desired to illuminate, I shall first endeavour to learn whether it is to light me to a feast or a sepulchre. For, Sir, if the solemnity of a death-bed declaration has any claims to veracity or sincerity, I should have no hesitation, were I to make it at this moment, to assert my firm persuasion and belief, that my Honourable Friends, in signing this peace, have put their signatures to the death-warrant of their country. I know, Sir, the inconstancy of human affairs, and I am not profane enough to set bounds to the dispensations of Providence — neither can I pretend precisely to foresee what different changes may be wrought in the dispositions of the people of England by intrigues from without, or convulsions from within. But upon no rational view that I can take of this subject, nor any prospect to which my discernment enables me to look, can I see my way out of the evils it will entail upon my country. The only one thing which France wanted to permit her to divide with you the empire of the seas was a participation of your commerce, to enable her to extend her navy. This participation she will have effectually secured by this peace, while by the surrender of your conquests, you will have thrown out of your hands the only means to prevent this

aggrandisement, the extension of your colonial system. What the motives were that induced His Majesty's ministers to conclude these Preliminaries under existing circumstances in Europe, I know not precisely. Some of those motives I have heard. But they do not convince me; on the contrary, they appear wholly insufficient.

This is all that is necessary for me to say at present; but if those who have concluded this peace will shew me it is a safe one for England, I shall ask them no farther reasons; but if we were really driven to this Peace by any fatal necessity, if His Majesty's ministers have been forced to accept it through any inability of resorting to alternatives, their conduct is the more excuseable, and we have to thank them, not for what they have acquired, but for what they have saved for their country. If they have yielded to necessity, instead of censure they may deserve thanks. Instead of censure for what they have given up, they may be entitled to gratitude for what they have preserved. If they can shew that they have, by ceding foreign colonies, saved objects nearer and dearer to us; if they have saved Portsmouth, and Plymouth, and Ireland; if they have preserved the soil of England from ravage and devastation, they will establish, not an apology, but a claim to thanks. Such a plea, however, I do not recognize. How far they were actuated by such necessity, will be a matter for future discussion: for the present I shall not feel it necessary to trespass longer on the attention of the house.

Mr. Addington (Chancellor of the Exchequer) shortly defended the grounds on which the Peace had been concluded, but declined discussing the Preliminaries till a future day. Mr. Sheridan said he should vote for the Address, and described the Peace to be one which every man was glad of, but no man could be proud of.

The motion for the Address was put and carried without a division.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

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